

HUGO LATYMERUS *Martir.*

CHRISTVM continuis precibus LATIMERVS adora



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FRVTEFVLL SERMONS PREACHED by the right reuerend father, and constant Martyr of Iesus Christ M. Hugh Latymer newly Imprinted: with others, not heretofore set forth in print, to the edifying of all which will dispose them selues to the readyng of the same.

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Sene and allowed accordyng to the order appointed in the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions.

1571.

AT LONDON,
Printed by Iohn Daye, *dwelling ouer Aldersgate.*

Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis per Decennium.

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¶FINIS.

SEVEN SERMONS,

made vpon the Lordes Prayer, preached by the right reuerend Father, and constant Martyr of Christ, M. Hugh Latimer, before the right honorable, and vertuous Lady Katherine, Duches of Suffolke, in the yeare of our Lord.

1552.

Whereunto are annexed certaine other Sermons, preached by the sayd reuerend father, in Lincolnshire, which were gathered, & collected by Augustine Bernher, a seruaunt of his.

Seene and allowed.

Matth 3.

Repent, repent, for the kingdome of God is at hand.

AT LONDON,

Printed by Iohn Daye, *dwelling ouer Aldersgate.*

1572.

Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis per Decennium.

¶ To the right honourable the Lady Katherine, Duches of Suffolke.

Augustine Bernher, wisheth the grace of God, with the encrease of his heauenly vertues, to her Graces eternall comfort in Iesus Christ.



That Princelye Prophet Dauid describing the peruerse nature and wicked properties of the vngodlye and reprobates, amongst other crimes whereof he doth accuse them, he layth also to theyr charge that they haue not called vppon God, by the whiche woordes he doth manifestly teach, that they which do not geue themselues to true and faythfull prayer, and inuocating of the name of God, are in the number of those which do say in theyr hartes there is no God. For as the godly by theyr earnest and continuall praying and prayse of the name of God, do declare the reuerend feare they beare towarpes his diuine maiestie, and their vnfayned loue, the which is grafted in theyr hartes by the gracious and diuine Spirite, towardes their heauenly and most louing Father, by the which they are incouraged willingly and chearefully to walke in the waye of godlinesse, and to frame theyr lyues to the will and pleasure of him whome they feare and loue. So on the contrary syde, the vngodlye, in that they do not call vppon theyr God neyther prayse him, most euidentlye declare that they stande not in awe of him, nor loue him, but rather despise him as one that is neither able to hurt or pleasure them.

By this that I haue sayd it doth manifestly appeare, that as faythfull and true prayer is the occasion of all goodnes and godlinesse: so the omitting & the neglecting of the same, is the roote and cause of all sinne and mischief. And the same will appeare more euident vnto them that do consider to themselues these two principal parts wherin true prayer doth cõsist. The first part of true prayer is called in the hebrue tongue *Thephilah*, the which signifyeth *Iudicij vel cõmendationis deprecationem*, a harty & earnest request & supplication made vnto God the eternall iudge, for the remission & pardon of sinnes, the which request proceedeth from the hart that is anguished by the vgsome sight of his wickednes, and reuealed by the brightnes of the law of God. The other part of prayer is called in the same tongue, *Thehillah, i. Laus*, a prayse of Gods mercies, the which doth follow the former request. For whē the hart so anguished hath poured out his greef and is by the spirite of God certified that his sinnes be forgeuen, and his prayer heard for Christes sake: by & by it bursteth out into a ioyfull prayseing of the name of the Lord, who so graciously hath shewed him selfe in geuing comfort vnto his sorowful conscience. In these two parts of prayer the children of God do exercise themselues, that is, in lamenting of their sinnes, & reioysing in the forgeuenesse of the same, the which consisteth in ỹ death of Christ. Wherupō the third part foloweth, the which is to craue at their fathers handes such thinges as be needfull for thē in this woorld.

Now he that beholdeth diligently the state of the woorld, shall easely perceaue that the most part of men are geuen vp to their owne hartes lust because they be destitute of that most comfortable spirite of prayer. who doth not see that the principal occasion of this horrible vnthankfulnes, the

which of all states of men is shewed towardes the eternall God, happeth by the reason that men do not passe for their sinnes, do lightly regard them and so do not craue remission of them at Gods handes, neyther be thankfull. If men did exercise themselues in faythful prayer, and did vse to examine themselues by the rule of the law of God (in which glasse they may soone see their owne filthynes) they would no doubt with great diligence consider the great and inestimable benefites of the Lorde theyr God, shewed vnto them euen in these our dayes. First how graciously he gaue vs the light of the Gospell in king Edwardes time, for the space of seuen yeares after the which time, by the reason of our vnthankfulnes, he most iustly plagued vs, and tooke the same away againe, and caused by the deuils hangmen (the Papistes I meane) darknesse, blindnes, and most pestiferous doctrine to be brought into the church, by reason wherof a great number that had before no iust to ỹ truth (euen by Gods iust iudgement) were then deceiued by lyes, and so perished eternally. And yet notwithstanding the faythfull Lord in all these turmoylinges preserued his seruauntes, geuing vnto a number of them such a princely spirite, that they were able to deride and laugh to scorne the threatnings of the tyrantes, to despise the terribleness of prisons & tormentes, and in the end most ioyfully to ouercome and conquere death to the prayse of God, and their own endles comfort. Vnto other some, the self same most gracious God gaue such a valeant spirite, that they were able by his grace to forsake the pleasures and commodities of this world, and being armed with patience, were content to trauell into far and vnknowne countries, with their families and houshoides, hauing small worldly prouision, or none at all, but trusting to his prouidence, who neuer forsaketh them that trust in him. Besides this the same God preserued a great number euen in the midst of their enemies not onely from bodely daungers, but also from being infected with that poysoned and blasphemous doctrine, that thē in al open pulpits, & shamelesse brags and ostentation was set abroad. I will not speake now of that wonderfull worke of God, who caused his worde to be preached, and his sacramentes to be administred euen in the midst of the enemies, in spite of the deuil and all his ministers.

Our vnthankfulnes causeth God to deliuer vs vp to our owne lust & wilfull blindnes.

The congregation of the faithfull at London in Queene Maries time.

These thinges the Lorde wrought most graciously for his people. But when the time came, that the measure of wickednes of the wicked was full, the self same God, euen of his own mercy, and by his own power confounded his enemies, by the meanes of our most gracious Lady the Quenes maiestie (for whose prosperous estate & preseruation the God of mercy graunt vnto al faythful Christians grace most instantly to pray) her most ioyfull comming to the imperiall crowne of thys Realme, who caused that filthy and darke Antichristian doctrine to vanish out of sight, and in stead therof that most glorious light of the gospell to shine againe, the which sorowfully was wished for of all faythfull Englishe hartes: restoring withall the Preachers of the same Gospell, the which before were expulsed as exiles, by the tyranny of the popish prelates.

The which benefites, as they be vnmeasurable, so ought they continually with thankfull hartes, of all thē that beare the name of Christians, to be considered. But as I sayd before, the most part of men do not passe for these thinges. The light of the Gospell is not comfortable vnto them, because they feele not the darknesse that is in them: they be not troubled

with

with their owne wickednes: ſinne lyeth lurking and ſleping within them, and they haue fully, as it were, ſolde themſelues to worldly buſineſſe, to clime vp to gette honors and dignities, and the pelfe of worldly thinges, and theſe thinges are the cauſe why they doo not praye vnto the Lorde theyr God. But woe be vnto ſuch ſleepers in their owne ſinnes, and forgetters of Gods benefites. A day will come, when they ſhall wiſh themſelues neuer to haue bene borne. Thus you ſee that the neglecting of prayer, is the occaſion of that horrible vnthankfulnes & forgetfulnes of Gods benefites. What is to be ſayde vnto them that contrarye to theyr owne hartes and conſciences lye in ſinne and wickednes, and will not amende theyr lyues, although they heare theyr ſinnes accuſed, condemned, and Gods vengeaunce pronounced vpon them? They be ſo drowned wyth the deſires of theyr owne hartes, that they do not paſſe for the wayes of the Lorde. Of ſuch kinde of men the world is full, which haue ſhameleſſe foreheads, being not aſhamed of their vileneſſe.

The cauſe of their miſeries (as Dauid declareth) is *Quia Deum non invocauerunt*, becauſe they haue not called vpon God. But what kinde of prayer doo thoſe men ſay (trow you) which call themſelues ſpirituall and κληρος, the lot of the Lorde? It is as manifeſt as the none daye, that the moſt parte of them, neyther pray nor knowe what true prayer is. For if they did vſe to pray as the true Chriſtians do, they coulde not chooſe but be compelled to amende their liues: theyr conſciences woulde be abaſhed to come before the Lorde without a harty purpoſe to amende theyr conuerſation. Doth not the ſaying of Oſe the Prophet take holde vpon the moſt parte of you that be of the popiſh clergye, and haue bene maſſemongers? whereas he ſayth, as theues wayte for a man, ſo the companye of preeſtes murther in the way by conſent, for they worke miſcheefe. Oſe. vj.

Did not you conſpire together at the entring of Queene Mary, to murther the people of God, in caſting from you moſt traiterouſly the precious Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt? in ſubmitting your ſelues to that filthy beaſt of Rome, and in receauing the ſtincking idolatrous maſſe, by the which you haue deſtroyed an innumerable ſort of people? Are you ſorye for theſe your doinges? Doo you humble your ſelues before the maieſtye of the terrible God, with harty and faythfull prayer acknowledging your wickedneſſe, and intending to eſchew the ſame? No ſuch thinges can be perceaued in you. For whereas before, in the time of Antichriſte, boldlye and openlye, you did deceaue the people of their ſaluation in Chriſt, now in the light of the Goſpell, ſecretly you whiſper into the eares of the ſimple, and diſwade them from receauing of the truth: ſo that moſt iuſtly you may be compared vnto thoſe types of whome we reade. Numer. xiij. the whiche wyth theyr falſe reportes, did hynder the people of Iſraell from entring into the lande of promiſe. For they being ſente by Moyſes to ſearch the lande, and to bring good tidinges vnto the people, by the which they might haue bene incouraged manfully to haue aſſayled theyr enemies, and taken poſſeſſion of the lande, they contrary to Moyſes expectation, like faithles men, came and diſcomforted the people, and cauſed them to miſtruſt Gods promiſes. And do ye not the like? whereas God hath appoynted you to ſearche the lande of promiſe in his holy woorde, and to bring tydinges of the ſame vnto hys people by faythfull and diligent teachers, and encourage them to embrace, and to lay holde vpon the Papiſts in theſe deuiliſh doctrine are aſhamed of repentaunce. Numer. xiij.

kingdome

kyngdome of Christ, you like false messengers, eyther by your false reportes and wicked doctrine do hinder the people from entring into the promised land, or els like dumme dogges that are not able to barke, you lye in your kennels, feeding your bellies, and making good cheare with the labours and sweate of the poore people, not passing whether they swimme or sinke, or what become of them.

Worthely therefore the Prophet Dauid numbreth you amongst thē that say in their hartes, there is no God. And this appeareth vnto all others, because ye do not call vpon God. For if you did accustome to call your selues to an accompte before the maiestie of God, in your faythfull prayers, the remembraunce of your horrible murther of Gods people, of your idlenesse, carelesnes, bellycheare, ignoraunce of Gods will & woord, secret filthinesse, and such other like stuffe: the same would cause you to water your cheekes, and compell you to shew some token of repentaunce vnto the people of God: but nothing is seene in you but desperatenesse, wherfore the spirite of the Lord is departed from you. And this is more euident in your manifold & manifest periuries, committed by you in King Henries time, in King Edwardes time, in Queene Maries time: and what may be sayd of you at this time, but that you be false periured hypocrites, bearing two faces vnder one hood, being ready like wethercockes, to turne at all seasons as the winde doth cary you? can you looke for any thing at Gods handes, but to be punished with his terrible plagues, as Judas was (whose companions you be) that all the world may take ensample by you to beware of these horrible crimes with the which you are so defiled that no water in the sea is able to make you cleane? One kinde of water would helpe your disease, if the Lord of his mercy would geue you grace to call vnto him for it, that is, the same water of life, the which the Lorde promiseth to the faythfull and penitent sinners, amongest the number of whom as yet ye be not, so far as man can iudge. And therfore it standeth you in hande to looke about you in time, before the halter be cast about your neckes, as it happened to Judas, whose footsteppes you follow in your behauiours in this worlde, that it is to be feared, you shall rest together in one place in the worlde to come. But of the vile behauiour of these miserable men, it greueth me to speake any further, not doubting but that the magistrates whome God hath charged with his people, will euen with speede consider these thinges accordingly, and not suffer these wauering and periured weathercockes to haue any thing to doo within the houle of God, the whiche is hys Churche, purifyed wyth the bloud of Christ. For the magistrates know that they them selues can not pray vnto the Lorde their God, except their hartes be faythfully disposed to do the workes of their vocation truely and faythfully, of the which the principall is to see the people instructed by faythfull ministers in the wayes of the Lorde: the which instructions can not be geuen by such as are not onely defiled with such kinde of vices, as is aboue rehearsed, but also are vtterly destitute of all good giftes, and know not the principles of theyr religion.

Vnmercifull mē without repentaunce can not be heard nor receaued into the mercifull handes of God.

This matter is so weighty and of such importaunce, that the magistrates, hauing the feare of God before their eyes, must needes consider it with speede, for it toucheth the eternall sauegard of them, for whome the Sonne of God did shed his owne hartes bloud: they ought to be put into

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the handes of ſuch as do not paſſe for their owne ſaluation, much leſſe for others: therefore ſo great and ſpeedy diligence the magiſtrates are bound (ſeeing God doth put them in truſt with his children) to prouide, that as they be bought with the bloud of Chriſt, ſo they may be nouriſhed with the true and ſincere word of God, to the praiſe of his name, and their eternall comfort. Further who can not lament, euen from the bottome of his hart, to ſee a great number to liue in ſuch careleſneſſe, and flatter themſelues in their owne ſinnes, thinking that they bee the children of God, when as in very deed the comfortable ſpirite of faythful prayer is departed from them, and they wortheily numbred amongeſt them that haue no God nor Chriſt. As thoſe men be, which be ſo greedy vpon the worlde, and haue addict and conſecrate themſelues vnto it, after ſuch a ſort, as though this worlde ſhould laſt for euer: And in this taking be the greater part of the gentlemen, whiche wyth ſuch extremities entreate theyr poore tenauntes, with rayſing of rentes, taking of fines, and other kindes of extreame dealinges, that they are compelled day and night to crye vnto God for vengeaunce againſt them: and can any man thinke that theſe pitileſſe and cruell men, can appeare before the maieſtie of God, and craue remiſſion of their ſinnes, when as they be purpoſed to goe on forwarde ſtill in their extreame dealinges againſt the poore? I will not ſpeake nowe of them, that being not content with their landes and rentes, do catche into their handes ſpirituall liuings, as perſonages & ſuch like, and that vnder the preterce to make prouiſion for their houſes. What hurt and domage this realme of England doth ſuſtayne by that deuiliſhe kynde of prouiſion for gentlemens houſes, knights, and Lordes houſes, they can tell beſt, that do trauell in the countries, and ſee with their eyes, great pariſhes, and market townes, with innumerable others, to be vtterly deſtitute of Gods word, and that becauſe that theſe greedy men haue ſpoyled the liuings, and gotten them into their hands: and in ſtead of a faithful & painfull teacher, they hyre a ſir John, who hath better ſkill in playing at tables, or in keeping of a garden, then in Gods word, and he for a trifle doth ſerue the cure, and ſo helpe to bring the people of God in daunger of theyr ſoules. And all thoſe ſerue to accompliſh the abhominable pride of ſuche gentlemen, which conſume the goodes of the poore (which ought to haue bene beſtowed vpon a learned miniſter) in coſtly apparell, bellychere, or in building of gorgious houſes. But let them be aſſured, that a day will come when it will be layd to theyr charge: *Rapina pauperum in domibus veſtris.* And then they ſhall perceiue that theyr fayre houſes are built in the place called *Aceldama*. They haue a bloudy foundation, and therfore cānot ſtand long. This matter alſo is ſo waighty, and the ſpirituall ſlaughter of the poore people ſo miſerable and wofull, that except the magiſtrates ſpeedely looke therunto and redreſſe the ſame, the Lord of Sabaoth himſelfe will find out ſome remedy to deliuer his people from ſuch caterpillers, and requyre the bloud of his people at theyr handes, by whoſe couetouſnes they were letted to come to the knowledge of Chriſt. And beſides thys ſuch rauening wolues, as deuoure the liuinges of the teachers and miniſters of Gods worde, ſhall not be able to come in the preſence of the Lorde, to pray vnto him, or to prayſe him: for all that euer they do (yea euen theyr prayers) is execrable before the Lord, ſo long as they turne theyr eares from the hearing of the law of the Lorde: that is to ſay, ſo long as they do not euen from the very bottome of their hartes, goe about to redreſſe

theſe

these heynous faults, with the which they be entangled. Let them repent therefore euen spedely, before the wrathfull indignation of the Lorde fall vpon them, and so destroy them in their sinnes. And these thinges ought to be considered of al them that pretend Christianitie, of what estate or degree soeuer they be, aswell Lawiers (whose couetousnes hath almost deuoured England) as craftesmen, husbandmen, seruaunts and others, remembring with themselues, that if their hartes be enclined to wickednes the Lord wil not heare their prayers. Let them stand in awe of the Lord their God, and so behaue themselues in their conuersation, and life, that they may haue recourse vnto him, and be incouraged to make their prayers confidently before him in the name of Iesus Christ, of whome they shal receiue comfort of soule and body, aswel in this world as in the world to come eternally. For this is most certaine, that if they proceede in their wickednes and vngodlinesse, not passing whether they be ruled, moued, and stirred by the gracious spirite of God to prayse his name, or not: then most assuredly the Lord wil poure out his plagues vpon the hole realme, according to the saying of the Prophet: the Lorde will poure out his wrath vpon the kingdomes that haue not called vpon his name.

A sharpe note against Lawiers

P. Sal. lxxix.

Now to the entent that they which are ignorant & vnlearned may the better be instructed how to order themselues when they goe about to present themselues before the maiestie of God, & talke with him cõcerning those thinges which be needfull for their soules health, and preseruation of their bodies: I thought it good, at the instant request of the godly learned, to put forth these sermons here folowing into print, which were preached in K. Edwardes time, before the right honourable Lady Katherine Duches of Suffolke her grace, by that same reuerend father & most constant martyr of Christ Hugh Latimer sometime Bishop of Worcester, my most deare master. For whose most painfull trauels, faithful preachings, true carefulnes for his contrey, pacient imprisonment, & constant suffring, al the whole realme of England hath great cause to geue vnto the eternal God most high laud and prayse. For who is he that is so ignorant that did not see the wonderfull handyworke of God in that man? did not God appoint him euen in K. Henries dayes, to be a singuler instrument to set forth his truth, and by his preaching to open the eyes of such as were deluded by the subtile and deceatfull crafte of the popish prelates?

How manifold wayes was he troubled, tost, & turmoyled from post to piller, by the popish bishops? whose handes he could not haue escaped, if God had not moued the kinges maiesties hart (that then was) to assist him: by whose absolute power diuerse times he was delimered from the cruell lyons. And although it did please God in processe of time to suffer the kinges maiestie to be deluded & circumuented by the subtile persuasions of those popish bishops, to establish by lawe syxe vngodly articles: yet thys faythfull seruaunte of Christ would rather put hys owne lyfe in daunger, then forsake or depart from that, the which afore most faythfully he had taught out of Gods worde. Wherfore he was contented rather to be cast into the Tower, and there to looke dayly for death, then to be found a waueering reede, or to decaue his Prince. For they (sayd he) that do allow any thing disagreeing from Gods worde, in respect to fulfill the appetites of princes, are betrayers and murtherers of their princes, because they prouoke the wrath of God to destroy such princes: and these

B. Latimer withstood the syxe articles although they were confirmed by lawes.

flatterers

flatterers become guilty of the bloud of their princes, & are the chiefe causes of their destructions. Wherfore this faythfull man of God, knowing his prince to be deluded by the false priestes, and being assured the things that were allowed, to be contrary to Gods word, was ready thus to aduenture his life: at the whiche time God mercifully deliuered him to the great comfort of all godly hartes, and singuler commoditie of his church.

Now whē he was thus delinered, did he geue himselfe vp to the pleasures of the world: to delicatenes or idlenes? No assuredly, but euē then most of all he began to set forth his plough, and to till the ground of the Lord, and to sow the good corne of Gods word, behauing himselfe as a faythfull messenger of God, being afrayd of no man, telling all degrees their duties faythfully and truely, without respect of persons, or any kinde of flattery. In the which his painfull trauayles, he continued all kyng Edwardes tyme, preaching for the most part euery Sonday two Sermons, to the great shame, confusion, and damnation of a great number of our fatbellied vnpreachyng prelates. For hee beyng a sore bruised man, and aboue thee score and seuen yeares of age, tooke notwithstandyng all these paynes in preaching, and also euery morning ordinarily, winter and summer about two of the cloche in the morning, he was at his booke most diligently. And besides this, how carefull he was for the preseruation of the Church of God, and for the good successe of the Gospell, they can beare record, which at that time were in authoritie, whom continually by his letters, he admonished of their duties, and assisted with his godly counsell.

A true history and declaration of the lyfe of the reuerend father Hugh Latymer preacher of Gods trueth.

But when the time approched, the which God had appoynted for the punishment of the carnall gospellers, and hipocrites which most wickedly abused the same, how faythfully he did admonish both priuately, and openly all kyndes of men, they that were then about hym can beare record. But one thyng amongest others is principally to be noted, that God not onely gaue vnto him his spirite most plenteously and comfortably, to preach hys word vnto his Church: but also by the same spirite he did most euidently prophecy of all those kindes of plagues, which in very deede afterwardes ensued, so playnly I say, as though he had seene them before his eyes: so that, if England euer had a Prophet, hee was one. And amongest other thynges hee euer affirmed, that the preachyng of the Gospell would cost him his lyfe, to the which thyng hee did most cheerefully arme and prepare him selfe, beyng certeinely perswaded, that Winchester was kept in the Tower for the same purpose. Therfore not long after Queene Mary was proclaimed, a pursuant was sent downe into the countrey for to call him vp. Of whose commyng when hee was made ware about six houres before, by a faythfull man of God John Careleisse (a man worthy of euerlastyng memory) he prepared him selfe towardes his iorney before the sayd pursuant came to his house. At the which thyng, when the pursuant marueled, seyng hym so prepared towardes his iorney, he sayd vnto him, my frend: you bee a welcome messenger to me, and be it knowen vnto you and to the whole world, that I goe as willingly to Lōdon at this present, beyng called by my Prince to render a reckenyng of my doctrine, as euer I was to any place in the world, and I doe not doubt, but that God, as hee hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent Princes, so hee will able me to

M. Hugh Latymer a true preacher & prophete of God.

A note worthy to bee noted.

witnesse the same vnto the thyrd, either to her comfort, or discomfort eternally &c. At the which tyme the pursuant, when he had deliuered his letters departed, affirmyng that he had commaundement not to tary for hym, by whose sodeine departure it was manifest, that they would not haue had hym to appeare, but rather to haue fled out of the realme. They knew that his constantnes should confound them in their popery, & confirme the godly in the trueth. As concernyng the maner and forme how he was interteined when hee came before the Counsell, how stoutly hee did behaue him selfe in Christes cause, and was content to beare most pacientely all the mockes and tauntes geuen him by the scorneful, and petulent Papistes: also how pacientely he tooke his imprisonment, and how boldly and willyngly hee in the end aduentured his lyfe in the defence of the glorious Gospell of Jesus Christ, because these thynges be at large described in the booke of Martyrs by that most godly learned and excellent instrument of God Master John Fox, I will not spend the tyme now to rehearse the same, sauing one thyng the which I would wish all godly Bishops and faythfull preachers to note, the which is this: that he beyng in prison comfortlesse, and destitute of all worldly helpe, most of all did reioyce in this, that God had geuen him grace, to apply his office of preachyng and assisted him without feare or flattery to tell vnto the wicked their faultes, and admonish them of their wickednes, neither alowyng, nor consentyng to any thing, that might be preiudiciall or hurtfull vnto the Gospell of Christ, although the refusall therof did cast hym in daunger of his lyfe. God graunt that all those that bee in that office may folow his footesteppes, and that the rest that either refuse to take paynes, or are giuen to flatter, may be turned out, and bee set to the cart or plough, and others put into their rowmes that bee willyng, diligent and hable to doe their dewties. The other thyng that I would haue noted, is his earnestnesse and diligence in prayer, wherein oftentymes so long hee continued kneelyng, that hee was not able for to ryse without helpe: and amongest other thynges these were three principall matters hee prayed for.

Note this worthy hystory.

Three notable things to be noted in this reuerend father.

The first, that as God had appointed hym to be a preacher and professor of his word, so also he would geue him grace to stand vnto his doctrine vntill his death: The other thyng, the which most instantly with great violence of Gods spirite hee desired, was that God of his mercy would restore the Gospel of his sonne Christ vnto this realme of England once agayne, and these wordes once agayne, once agayne, he dyd so inculcate and beate into the eares of the Lord God, as though hee had seene God before him, and spake vnto him face to face. The third principall matter wherewith in his prayers hee was occupyed: was to pray for the preseruation of the Queenes Maiestie that now is, whom in his prayer accustomably he was wont to name, and euen with teares desired God to make her a comfort to this comfortlesse Realme of Englād. These were the matters hee prayed for so earnestly. But were these thynges desired in vayne? Did God despise the prayers of this his faithfull souldier? No assuredly: for the Lord did most graciously graunt all these his requestes. First concernyng profession, euen in the most extremity, the Lord graciously assisted hym. For when hee stode at the stake, without Bocardy gate at Orford, and the tormenters about to set the

fire

fire vpon him, and that moſt reuerend father Doctour Ridley, hee lifted vp his eyes towardes heauen with a moſt amiable & comfortable countenaunce, ſaying theſe wordes. Fidelis eſt Deus, qui nó ſinit nos tentari ſupra id quod poſſumus. God is faythfull, which doth not ſuffer vs to bee tempted aboue our ſtrength: and ſo afterward by and by ſhed his bloud in the cauſe of Chriſt, the which bloud ranne out of his hart in ſuch aboundaunce that all thoſe that were preſent (beyng godly) dyd maruell to ſee the moſt part of the bloud in his body ſo to be gathered to his hart, and with ſuch violence to gulhe out, his body beyng opened by the force of the fire. By the which thyng God moſt graciouſly graunted his requeſt, the whiche was, to ſhed his hartes bloud in the defence of the Goſpell. How mercyfully the Lord heard his ſecond requeſt, in reſtorying his Goſpell once agayne to this realme, theſe preſent dayes can beare recorde. But alas, what ſhall Engiand ſay for her defence, how ſhall ſhe auoyde the terrible plagues of God for the horrible and deuiliſh vnthankefulnes, for that treaſure? The Lord be mercyfull vnto vs.

Now concernyng his thyrd requeſt, it was alſo moſt effectuouſly graunted to the great prayſe of God, the furtheraunce of his Goſpell, and to the vnſpeakeable comfort of this Realme. For when matters were euen deſperate, and the enemies mightely florifhed and triumphed, Gods word baniſhed and Spanyardes retcaued. Sodeinly the Lord called to remembraunce his mercy, and made an end of all theſe miſeries, and appointed her, for whom that ſame reuerend gray headed father Latimer ſo earneſtly prayed in his captiuitie, as the true and naturall ruler, and owner of this imperiall crowne dyd ſhew her ſelfe, and by the brightnes of Gods word dyd confounde the darke, deuiliſh and vyle kyngdome of Antichriſt, and reſtored the temple of God agayne, the which thyng not this faythfull Prophet onely, but all the reſt, whom God made worthy to bee his witneſſes, dyd moſt earneſtly require and deſire in their faythfull prayers. The ſelfe ſame God graunt vnto euery faythfull Chriſtian his ſpirite, that they may bee diligent and watchfull in prayers for her, by whom God hath beſtowed ſuch vnſpeakeable giftes vpon vs, that the ſame God will aſſiſte her with his grace & holy ſpirite, to proceede faythfully in the buildyng of his houſe, and in pluckyng downe of all kyndes of ſinne and wickednes, ſuperſtition, Idolatrie and all the monumentes of the ſame, to the glory of his name, and her euerlaſtyng and endleſſe comfort. To the which faythfull prayers, that all they which feare God, may be the better incouraged: I haue ſet forth theſe Sermons, made by this holy mā of God, and dedicated them to your grace: partly becauſe they were preached in your graces houſe at Grimſthorp, by this reuerend father and faythfull Prophet of God, whom you dyd norith, and whoſe doctrine you dyd moſt faythfully embrace, to the prayſe of God and vnſpeakeable comfort of all godly hartes, the which did with great admiration maruell at the excellent giftes of God beſtowed vpon your grace, in geuyng vnto you ſuch a Princely ſpirite, by whoſe power and vertue you were able to ouercome the world, to forſake your poſſeſſions, landes, & goodes, your worldly frendes and natiue countrey, your highe eſtate and eſtimation with the whiche you were adorned, and to become an exile for Chriſt and his Goſpels ſake, to chooſe rather to ſuffer aduerſity with the people of God, then to enioy

A great cōmendation of the Duchelſſe of Suffolke.

the

the pleasures of the world with a wicked conscience estemyng the rebukes of Christ greater riches, then the treasures of England: where as the worldlynges are farre otherwise mynded: for they haue their pleasures amongest the pottes of Egypt, they eate and drinke and make merry, not passyng what become of Christ or his Gospell: they bee so dronken with the swete delicates of this miserable world, that they will not tast of the bitter mosels which the Lord hath appointed and prepared for his chosen children, and especiall frendes: Of the whiche hee dyd make you most gratiously to tast, geuyng vnto your grace his spirite, that you were able in all the tormoyles and greuaunces the whiche you dyd receaue, not onely at the handes of those whiche were your professed enemyes, but also at the handes of them which pretended frendshyp and good will, but secretly wrought sorow and mischick, to bee quyet and pacient, and in the end brought your grace home agayne into your natiue countrey: no doubt to no other end, but that you should be a comfort vnto the comfortles, and an instrument by the whiche hys holy name should be praysed, and his Gospell propagated and spread abroad, to the glory of his holy name, and your eternall comfort in Christ Iesus, vnto whose mercyfull handes I committe your grace, with all yours eternally. Amen.

From Southam, the second of October.

The Sermon that the Reuerende Father in Christ M. Hugh Latimer Bishop of Worcester, made to the Conuocation of the Clergie, before the Parliament began, the 9. day of Iune, the 28. yeare of the raigne of our late king, Henry the viij. Translated out of Latine into Englishe, to the intent that thinges well layd to a fewe, may be vnderstode of many, and do good to all them that desire to vnderstand the truth.

Filij huius seculi. &c. Luke. 16.

BRethren, ye be come together this day (as farre as I perceiue) to heare of great & waighty matters: Ye be come together to intreat of thinges that most appertayne to the common wealth. This beyng thus, ye loke (I am assured) to heare of me, which am cõmaunded to make as a preface, this exhortation (albeit I am vnlearned and farre vnworthy) to vtter such thinges as shalbe méete for this your assemble. I therfore not onely very desirous to obey the commaundement of our primate, but also right greatly coueting to serue and satisfy all your expectation: Loe, briefly and as playnly as I can, will speake of matters, both worthy to be heard in your congregation, and also of such as best shall become mine office in this place. That I may do this the more commodiously, I haue taken that notable sentence, in which our Lord was not afraid to pronoũce: The children of this world to be much more prudent and politike, then the children of light in their generation. Neither will I be afrayde, trusting that he will ayde and guide me to vse this sentẽce, as a good ground and foundation of all such thinges as hereafter I shall speake of.

Luke. xvi.

A good ground and sure foundation.

Now I suppose that you se right well, beyng men of such learnyng, for what purpose the Lord says this, and that ye haue no néede to be holpen with any part of my labor in this

The learned nomber hath least neede of expositions.

thing. But yet, if ye will pardon me, I will wade somewhat déeper in this matter, and as nigh as I can, fetch it from the first original beginning. For vndoubtedly, ye may much marualle at this saying, if ye well ponder both what is sayd, and who sayth it. Define me first these three thinges, what prudence is, what the world, what light, and who be the children of the world, who of the light, sée what they signifie in Scripture. I maruell if by and by ye all agrée, that the children of the worlde should be wiser then the Children of the lyght. To come somewhat nigher the matter, thus the Lord beginneth.

Luke. 16. ¶ There was a certaine riche man that had a Steward, which was accused vnto him that he had dissipated and wasted his goodes. This riche man called his Steward to him and sayde: What is this that I heare of thee? Come, make me an accompt of thy Stewardship: Thou mayest no longer beare this office.

Brethren, because these wordes are so spoken in a parable, and are so wrapped in wrinckels, that yet they séeme to haue a face and similitude of a thyng done in déede, and lyke an history, I thinke it much profitable to tary somewhat in them. And though we may perchaunce finde in our hartes to beleue all that is there spoken to be true: yet I doubte whether we may abide it, that these wordes of Christ do pertaine vnto vs, and admonish vs of our duety, which do and line after such sort, as though Christ when he spake any thing, had as the tyme serued hym, serued his turne, and not regarded the tyme that came after him, neither prouided for vs, or any matters of ours, as some of the Philosophers thought, which sayd, that God walketh vp and down in heauē, and thinketh neuer a deale of our affaires. But my good brethren, erre not you so, sticke not you to such your imaginations. For if ye inwardly behold these words, if ye diligently role them in your mindes, and after explicate and open them, ye shall sée our tyme much touched in these mysteries. Ye shall perceiue that God by this example shaketh vs by the noses, and pulleth vs

God is no idle walker.

by

vs by the eares. Ye shall perceiue very plaine, that God setteth before our eyes in this similitude, what we ought most to flée, and what we ought soneste to follow. For Luke sayth: the Lord spake these wordes to his disciples Wherfore let it be out of all doubt, that he spake them to vs, whiche euen as we will be counted the successors and Vicars of Christes disciples, so we be, if we be good dispensers, and do our duetie. He sayd these thinges, partly to vs which spake them, partly of himselfe. For he is that riche man, which not only had, but hath, and shall haue euermore, I saye not one, but many Stewardes, euen to the ende of the world.

Christ hath many stewardes.

He is man, seing that he is God and man. He is rich, not onely in mercy, but in all kinde of riches. For it is he, that geueth vs all thinges abundantly: It is he, of whose hand, we receiued both our liues, and other thinges necessary for the conseruation of the same. What man hath any thing I pray you, but he hath receiued it of his plentifulnes? To be short, it is he, that openeth his hand, & filleth all liuing things with his blessing, and geueth vnto vs, in most ample wise his benediciō: Neither his treasure can be spent, how much so euer he lashe out, how much so euer we take of him, his treasure tarieth still, euer taken, neuer spent.

Christes treasure can not be spent.

He is also the good mā of the house, the church is his household, which ought with all diligence, to be fed with his word and his sacramentes. These be his goodes, most precious, the dispensation and administration wherof, he would Bishops and Curates should haue. Which thing S. Paul affirmeth, saying: Let men esteeme vs, as the ministers of Christ, and dispensours of Gods misteries. But I pray you what is to be loked for in a dispensoure? This surely, that he be found faythfull and that he truely dispense and lay out the goodes of the Lord, that he geue meate in time, geue it I say, and not sel it: meate I say, and not poyson. For the one doth intoxicate and slea the eater, the other feedeth and nourisheth him. Finally, let him not slacke and differre the doing of his office, but let him do his dutie when time is, and neede requireth it. This is also to be loked for, that he be one, whome God hath called, and put in office, and not one that commeth vncalde, vnsent for, not one that of him selfe presumeth to take

The office of ministers.

What maner of man a minister should be.

honour vpon him. And surely if all this that I say, be required in a good Minister, it is much lighter to require them all in euery one, then to finde one any where, that hath them al. Who is a true and a faythfull steward? He is true, he is faithfull, that coyneth no new mony, but taketh it ready coyned of the good man of the house, and neither changeth it ne clippeth it after it is taken to him to spend, but spendeth euen the selfe same, that he had of his Lord, and spendeth it as his Lordes commaundement is, neither to his own auauntage vttering it, nor as the lewde seruaunt did, hyding it in the grounde. Brethren, if a faythfull steward ought to dw as I haue sayd, I pray you ponder and examyne this well, whether our Bysshops and Abbotes, Prelates & Curates haue bene hitherto faythfull stewardes or no? Ponder, whether yet many of them be, as they should be or no? Go ye to, tell me now, as your conscience leadeth you (I will let passe to speake of many other) was there not some, that despising the mony of the Lord, as copper, and not currauntt, either coyned new themselues, or els vttred abrode newly coyned of other, some time eyther adulterating the word of God, or els mingling it (as tauerners do, which brew and vtter the euill and good both in a pot) somtime in the stead of Gods word, blowing out the dreames of men? While they thus preached to the people, the redemption that cometh by Christes death to serue onely them that dyed before his comming that were in the time of the olde testament, & that now since redemption and forgeuenes of sinnes purchased by money, and deuised by men, is of efficacy, and not redemption purchased by Christ. They haue a wonderfull prety example, to perswade this thing, of a certayne maried woman, which whē her husband was in Purgatory, in that fiery fornace, that hath burned away so many of our pens, payd her husbandes ransom, and so of duety claymed him to be set at liberty: While they thus preached to the people, that dead images (which at the first, as I thinke, were set vp onely to, represent thinges absent) not onely ought to be couered with gold, but also ought of all faythfull and christen people, yea in this scarsenes and penury of all thinges, to be cladde with silke garmentes, and those also laden with precious gemmes and iewels. And that beside

A faythfull Stewarde.

Counterfaiters of Gods coyne.

Purgatory picke purse.

Worshyppyng of Images.

beside all this, they are to be lighted with wax candles, both within the church and without the church, yea at none dayes as who should say, here no cost can be to great, where as in the meane time, we se Christes faythfull and liuely images, bought with no lesse price, thē with his most precious bloud, alas alas, to be an hungred, a thirst, a cold, & to lye in darcknes, wrapped in all wretchednes, yea, to lye there till death take away their miseries: While they preached these will workes, that come but of our owne deuotion, although they be not so necessary, as the workes of mercy, and the precepts of God, yet, they sayde in the pulpit, that willworkes were more principall, more excellent, and (plainly to vtter what they meane) more acceptable to God then workes of mercy: as though mans inuentions & fansies could please God better then Gods precepts: or strange things better then his owne: while they thus preached, that more fruite, more deuotion commeth of the beholding of an Image, though it be but a *Pater noster* while, then is gotten by reading and contemplation in Scripture, though ye read and contemplate therin seuen yeares space. Finally, while they preached thus, soules tormented in purgatory to haue most nede of our helpe, and that they can haue no ayde, but of vs in this world, of the which two, if the one be not false, yet at the least it is ambiguous, vncertaine, doubtfull, and therefore rashly and arrogātly with such boldnes affirmed in the audience of the people, the other by al mens opinions is manifestly false. I let passe to speake of much other such like counterfeite doctrine, which hath bene blasted and blown out by some for the space of three houres together. Be these the christian and diuine misteries, and not rather the dreames of men? Be these the faythfull dispensers of Gods misteries, and not rather false dissipators of them? whom God neuer put in office, but rather the diuell set them ouer a miserable famelie, ouer an house miserably ordered and entreated. Happy were the people, if such preached seldome. And yet it is a wonder to se these in their generation, to be much more prudent and politike, then the faythfull ministers are in their generation, while they goe about more prudently to stablish mens dreames, then these do, to hold by Gods cōmaundements. Thus

Willworkes.

The workes that God commaundeth are most acceptable before him.

The Papistes doctrine.

Papistes are false and crafty disposers of gods misteries.

it commeth to passe, that workes lucratiue, wilworkes, and mens fancies raigne: but christiã workes, necessary & fruitfull workes, be troden vnder the feete. Thus the euell, is much better set out by euill men, then the good, by good men: because the euill be more wise, then be the good in their generation. These be the false Stewardes, whome all good and faythfull men euery day accuse vnto the riche maister of the houshold, not without great heauines, that they waste hys goodes, whome he also one day will call to him, and say to them as he did to his stewarde, when he sayd: What is this that I heare of thee? Here God partly wondreth at our ingratitude and perfidie, partly chideth vs for them, and being both full of wonder, and redy to chide, asketh vs, what is this that I heare of you? As though he should say vnto vs, All good men in all places complaine of you, accuse your auarice, your exactions, your tyranny: they haue required in you a long season, and yet require diligence and sinceritie. I commaunded you that with all industry and labour, ye should feede my sheepe: ye earnestly feede your selues from day to day, wallowing in delights and idlenes. I commaunded you to teach my commaundementes, and not your fansies, and that you should seeke my glory and my bauntage: you teach your own traditions, and seeke your owne glory & profite. You preach very seldome, and when you do preache, ye do nothing but cumber them that preach truly, as much as lyeth in you, that it were much better, such not to preach at all, then so pernitiously to preach. Oh, what heare I of you? You that ought to be my preachers, what other thing do you, then applye all your study hether, to bring all my preachers to enuy, shame, contempt, yea more then this ye pull them into perils, into prisons, and as much as in you lyeth, to cruell deathes. To be short, I would, that Christen people should heare my doctrine, and at their conuenient leasure, read it also, as many as would: your care is not, that all men may heare, but all your care is, that no lay man do read it. Surely being afraid least they by the reading, should vnderstand it, and vnderstãding, learne to rebuke our slouthfulnes. This is your generation, this is your dispẽsation, this is your wisedome. In this generation, in this dispensation, you be most politique,

God will call his ministers to a great accompt.

God willeth all men to read and vnderstand his word.

The Papistes are wise in their generatiõ

most

moſt witty. Theſe be the thinges that I heare of your demeanour, I wiſhed to heare better repoꝛte of you. Haue ye thus deceaued me? Oꝛ, haue ye rather deceiued your ſelues? Where I had but one houſe, that is to ſay, the church, and this ſo dearely beloued of me, that foꝛ the loue of her, I put my ſelfe foꝛth to be ſlayne, and to ſhed my bloud: this church at my departure, I committed vnto your charge, to be ledde, to be nouriſhed, and to be made much of. My pleaſure was ye ſhould occupy my place, my deſire was, yee ſhoulde haue boꝛne like loue to this Churche, like fatherly affection, as I did. I made you my vicars, yea in matters of moſte impoꝛtaunce. Foꝛ thus I taught openly: He that ſhould heare you, ſhould heare me: He that ſhould deſpiſe you, ſhoulde deſpiſe me. I gaue you alſo keyes, not earthly keyes but heauenlye, I left my goodes that I haue euermoꝛe moſt highly eſtæmed, that is, my woꝛde and ſacramentes, to be diſpenſed of you. Theſe benefites I gaue you: and do you geue me theſe thanckes? Can you finde in your hartes, thus to abuſe my goodnes, my benignitie, my gentrienes? Haue you thus deceiued me? No, no, ye haue not deceiued me, but your ſelues. My giftes and benefites toward you ſhall be to your greater damnation. Becauſe you haue contemned the lenity and clemencie of the maiſter of the houſe, ye haue right well deſerued to abide the rigour and ſeueritie of the iudge. Come foꝛth then, let vs ſée accompt of your ſtewardſhip. And hoꝛrible and fearfull ſentence. Ye may haue no longer my goodes in your handes. A voyce to wæpe at, & to make men to tremble. You ſée bꝛethꝛen, you ſée, to what euil, the euil ſtewards muſt come to. Your labour is payd foꝛ if ye can ſo take hæde, that no ſuch ſentence be ſpoken to you, nay, we muſt all take hæd leaſt theſe threatnings one day take place in vs. But leſt the length of my ſermon offende you too ſoꝛe, I will leaue the reſt of the parable, and take me to the handling of the end of it, that is, I will declare vnto you, how the childꝛen of thys woꝛlde be moꝛe witty, crafty, and ſubtile, then are the childꝛē of the light in their generation. Which ſentence, would God it lay in my poꝛe toung, to explicate with ſuch light of woꝛds, that I may ſeme rather to haue paynted it befoꝛe your eyes, then to haue ſpoken it: and that you might rather ſeeme to ſée

Luke. x.

Math. xxi.

The Papiſtes deceaue not God, but them ſelues.

The childꝛen of this woꝛld are wiſer then are the childꝛē of light.

Luke. x.

the thing, then to heare it: But I confesse plainly, this thing to be far aboue my power. Therefore this being onely lefte to me, I wish for that I haue not, and am sorry, that ỹ is not in me which I would so gladly haue, that is, power so to handle the thing that I haue in hande, that all that I say, may turne to the glory of God, your soules health, and the edefying of Christes body: wherefore I pray you all to pray with me vnto God, and that in your petition you desire, that these two thinges he vouchsafe to graunt vs, first, a mouth for me to speake rightly: next eares for you, that in hearing me, ye may take profite at my hande: and that this may come to effect, you shall desire him, vnto whom our maister Christ bad we should pray, saying euen the same prayer, that he himselfe did institute. Wherein ye shall pray for our most gracious soueraigne Lorde the king, chiefe and supreme head of the church of England, vnder Christ: and for the most excellent, gracious and vertuous Lady Quéene Jane, his most lawful wife, and for all his, whether they be of the clergy, or laity, whether they be of the nobilities, or els other his graces subiectes: not forgetting those, that being departed out of thys transitory life, and now slépe in the slépe of peace, and rest from theyr labours, in quietnes, and in peaceable slépe, faythfully, louingly, and patiently loking for that, that they clearly shall sée, when God shall be so pleased. For all these and for grace necessary, ye shall say vnto God Gods prayer: *Pater noster.*

Godly petitions.

Filij huius seculi. &c. *Luc. 16.*

Luke 16.

Christ in this saying, touched the slouth and sluggishnes of his, and did not allow the fraud and subtlety of other: neither was glad that it was in déd as he had sayd, but complained rather, that it should be so: as many men speake many things, not that they ought to be so, but that they are wont to be so. May, this grieued Christ, that the childrē of this world should be of more policye, then the children of light, which thing was true in Christes time, and now in our time is most true. Who is so blinde, but he séeth this clearely, except perchaunce there be any, that can not discerne the children of the worlde, from the children of light? The chil-

The children of this world is of more policy, then the childrē of light.

dren

dren of the world, conceiue and bring forth more prudently, and thinges conceiued and brought forth, they nourish and conserue with much more policy, then do the children of light. Which thing is as sorrowfull to be sayd, as it semeth absurd to be heard. When ye heare the children of the world, you vnderstād the world, as a father. For the world is father of many children, not by the first creation & worke, but by imitation & lone. He is not only a father, but also the sonne of an other father. If ye know once his father, by & by ye shall know his children. For he that hath the Deuill to his father, must nedes haue diuelish children. The diuell is not onely taken for father, but also for prince of the world, that is, of worldly folke. It is either all one thing, or els not much different, to say, children of the world, and children of the diuel, according to that, ỳ Christ sayd to the Iewes, ye are of your father the diuel: where as vndoubtedly he spake to children of this world. Now seing the Diuel is both author and ruler of the darknes, in the which the childrē of this world walke, or to say better, wander, they mortally hate both the light, and also the children of light. And hereof it commeth, that the children of light neuer, or very seldome, lacke persecution in this world, vnto which the children of the world, that is of the deuill bringeth them. And there is no man but he seeth that these vse much more policy in procuring the hurt and damage of the good, then those in defending themselues. Therefore brethren, gather you the disposition and study of the children, by the disposition and study of the fathers. Ye knowe this is a prouerbe much vsed: an euill crowe, an euill egge. Then the children of this world ỳ are knowen to haue so euill a father, the world so euill a grandfather, the diuell cannot chuse but be euill. Surely the first head of their auncestrie, was ỳ deceitful serpent the diuel, a monster monstruous aboue all monsters. I cannot wholy expresse him, I wot not what to call him, but a certayne thing altogether made of the hatred of God, of mistrust in God, of lyinges, deceites, periuries, discordes, manslaughter, and to say at one word, a thing concrete, heaped vp, and made of all kinde of mischiefe. But what the diuell meane I, to describe particularly the diuels nature, when no reason, no power of mās

The deuill is prince of this world.

Iohn. 10.

The deuill is the father of the children of this world.

The petigree of the children of this world.

The deuill what he is.

minde

minde can comprehende it. This alonly I can say grosly & as in a summe, of the which all we (our hurt is ỳ more) haue experiẽce, ỳ diuell to be a stinking sentine of all vices, a foule filthy chanel of all mischiefes, & that this world his sonne, euẽ a child mete to haue such a parẽt, is not much vnlike his father.

Then this diuell being such one as can neuer be vnlike himselfe: Lo of Enuy, his welbeloued Lemman he begatte the world, and after left it with Discord at nours. Which world, after that it came to mans state, had of many Concubines, many sonnes. Ye was so facund a father, and had gotten so many childrẽ of lady Pryde, dame Glottony, maisters Auarice, lady Lechery, and of dame Subtilty: that now hard and scant, ye may finde any corner, any kinde of life, where many of his children be not. In court, in coules, in cloysters, in rotchets, be they neuer so white, yea, where shall ye not finde them? How be it, they that be secular and lay men, are not by and by children of the world, ne they children of light ỳ are called spiritual are of the clergy. No no, as ye may finde among the Laity many children of light, so among the Clergy (how much so euer we arogate these holy titles vnto vs, and thinke them onely attributed to vs: *Vos estis lux mundi, peculium Christi, &c.* Ye are the light of the world, the chosen people of Christ, a kingly priesthoode, an holy nation, and such other:) ye shall finde many children of the world, because in all places the world getteth many children. Among the Lay people, the world ceaseth not to bring to passe, that as they be called worldly, so they are worldly in dede, driuen hedlong by worldly desires, in so much that they may right well seeme to haue taken as well the maners, as the name of their father. In the Clergy, the world also hath learned away, to make of men spirituall, worldlinges, yea and there also to forme worldly children, where with great pretence of holines, and crafty couloure of religion, they vtterly desire to hyde and cloke the name of the world, as though they were ashamed of their father, which do execrate and detest the world (being neuertheles their father) in wordes and outward signes, but in hart and worke they coll and kisse him, & in all their lines declare themselues to be his babes in so much ỳ in al worldly pointes, they farre passe and

Note well this pedegre.

Math. v.

1. Peter. ii.

Worldlynges ashamed of their father.

and surmount those, that they call Seculars, lay men, men of the world. The childe so diligently followeth the steppes of his father, neuer destitute of the ayde of his grandfather. These be our holy holy men, that say they are dead to the world, when no men be more liuely in worldly thinges, then some of them be. But let them be in profession and name, most farthest from the worlde, most alienate from it, yea so farre, that they may seeme to haue no occupying, no kinred, no affinity, nothing do with it: yet in their life & deedes, they shew themselues no bastardes, but right begotten children of the world, as that which the world long sithens had by his deare wife dame Hipocrisy, and since hath brought them vp and multiplyed to more then a good many, encreased them to much, to much, all be it they sweare by all he Saintes and she Saintes to, that they know not their father, nor mother, neither the world, nor Hipocrisy, as in deede they can semble & dissemble all thinges, which thing they might learne wonderfull well of their parentes. I speake not of all religious men, but of those that the world hath fast knit at his girdel, euē in the midst of their religion, that is, of many, & no them many. For I feare, least in all orders of men, the better, I must say, the greater part of them be out of order, and childrē of the world. Many of these might seme ingrate & vnkinde children, that will no better aknowledge and recognise their parentes in words & outward pretence, but abrenounce and cast them of, as though they hated them as dogs, & serpentes. Yobeit they, in this wise, are most grateful to their parents, because they be most like them, so liuely representyng them in countenaunce & conditions, that their parentes seeme in thē to be yong agayne, for as much as they euer say one thing, & thinke an other. They shew themselues to be as sober, as temperate, as Curius the Romaine was, & liue euery day, as though all their life were a shrouing time. They be like their parents I say, in as much as they in following them, seme & make men beleue they hate them. Thus Granfather deuill, father world, & mother hipocrisy, haue brought thē vp. Thus good obedient sonnes haue borne away their parentes commaundements, neither these be solitary, holy religious, holy mocking, holy muncking, I would say: soeuer they be.

A glasse wherin ye may liuely behold worldlynges.

The lyuely images of the world.

Graundfather deuill, father world and mother. hypocrisie are the begetters of the children of this world.

Ye will lay this to my charge, that *Monachus & Solitarius* signifieth alone. I graunt this to be so, yet these be so solitary that they be not alone, but accompanied with great flocks of Fraternities. And I maruel if there be not a great sort of Bishops & prelates, that are brethren germain vnto these, & as a great sort, so euen as right borne, & worldes childrē by as good title as they. But because I cānot speake of al, whē I say prelats, I vnderstād bishops, Abbots, Priors, archdecōs, deanes and other, of such sort, that are now called to this Conuocation, as I sée, to intreate hereof nothing but of such matters as both appertayne to the glory of Christ, and to the wealth of the people of England. Which thing I pray God they do as earnestly as they ought to do. But it is to be feared, least as Light hath many her Children here, so the worlde hath sent some of his whelps hither. Amonges the which I know there can be no concord nor vnity, albeit they be in one place, in one congregation, I know there can be no agrément betwene these two, as long as they haue mindes so vnlike, and so contrary affections, iudgementes so vtterly diuers in all poyntes. But if the children of this worlde be eyther moe in number, or more prudent then the Children of Light, what then auayleth vs to haue this Conuocation? Had it not bene better we had not bene called together at all? For as the children of this worlde be euill, so they bréde and bring forthe thinges euill, and yet there be mo of them in all places, or at the least they be more politike, than the children of light in their generation. And here I speake of the generation, wherby they do ingender, and not of that wherby they are ingendred, because it should be to long to intreate, how the childrē of light are ingendred, and howe they come in at the dore: and how the children of the worlde be ingendred, and come in an other way. How be it, I thinke all you that be here were not ingendred after one generation, neither that ye all came by your promotions after one maner. God graunt that ye, engendred worldly, do not ingender worldly: And as now I much passe not how ye were ingendred, or by what meanes ye were promoted to those dignities, that ye now occupy, so it be honest, good, and profitable, that ye in this your Consultation shall do and engender.

When of diuers opinions agree worst when they be together.

Worldly ingendred, must engender worldly

The

The end of your Conuocation shall shew what ye haue done, the fruite that shall come of your consultation, shall shew what generation ye be of. For what haue ye done hetherto I pray you, these .vj. yeares and mo? What haue ye engendred? what haue ye brought forth? what fruite is come of your long and great assemble. What one thyng, that the people of England hath bene the better of an heare? or you your selues, either more accepted before God, or better discharged toward the people, committed vnto your cure? For that the people is better learned and taught now, then they were in tyme past, to whether of these ought we to attribute it, to your industrie, or to the prouidence of God, and the foreseyng of the kynges grace? Ought we to thanke you, or the kynges highnes? Whether sturred other first, you the kyng, that ye might preach, or be you by his letters, that ye should preach after? Is it vnknowen thinke you, how both ye and your Curates were in maner by violence inforced to let bookes to be made by you, but by prophane and lay persons, to let them, I say, be sold abroad, and read for the instruction of the people? I am bold with you, but I speake Latine, and not Englishe, to the Clergie, not to the laitie, I speake to you beyng present, and not behynd your backes. God is my witnes, I speake, what soeuer is spoken, of the good will that I beare you, God is my witnes, which knoweth my hart, and compelleth me to say, that I say.

A proper maner of speche vsed by Latymer.

Now I pray you, in God his name, what dyd you so great fathers, so many, so long a season, so oft assembled together? What went you about? what would ye haue brought to passe two thynges taken away? The one, that ye (which I heard) burned a dead man: the other, that ye (which I felt) went about to burne one beyng alyue. Hym, because he dyd, I can not tell how, in his Testament withstand your profite: in other pointes, as I haue heard, a very good man, reported to be of an honest life, while he lyued, full of good workes, good both to the Clergie, and also to the Laity, this other, which truly neuer hurt any of you, ye would haue raked in the coales, because he would not subscribe to certaine Articles, that take away the supremacy of the kyng. Take away these two noble actes, and there is nothyng els left, that

Two notable actes.

ye

ye went about, that I know, sayeng that I now remember, that somewhat ye attempted agaynst Erasmus, all be it as yet nothyng is come to light. Ye haue oft sit in consultation, but what haue ye done? Ye haue had many thynges in deliberation, but what one is put forth, whereby either Christ is more glorified, or els Christes people made more holyer? I appele to your owne conscience. How chaunced this? how came this thus? because there were no children of light, no children of God amongest you, which settyng the world at nought, would study to illustrate the glory of God, and therby shew them selues children of light? I thinke not so, certainly I thinke not so. God forbyd, that all you: which were gathered together, vnder the pretence of lyght should be children of the world. Then why happened this? Why I pray you? Perchaunce either bicause, the children of the world, were mo in nomber, in this your congregation, as it oft happeneth, or at the lest of more policie then the children of lyght in their generation. Whereby it might very sone be brought to passe, that those were much more stronger, in gendryng the euill, then these in producyng the good. The children of light haue policie, but it is like the policie of the Serpent, and is ioyned with douish simplicitie. They ingender nothyng but simply, faythfully, and playnly, euen so doyng all that they do. And therefore they may with more facilitie be combred in their ingendryng, and be the more ready to take iniuries. But the children of this world, haue worldly policie, forely craft, lyonlyke crueltie, power to do hurt, more the either Aspis or Basiliscus, ingendryng and doyng all thinges fraudulently, deceitfully, gylefully. Which as Nembrothes and such sturdy and stout hunters, beyng full of simulation and dissimulation, before the Lord, deceiue the children of light, and comber them easely. Hunters go not forth in euery mans sight, but do theyr affaires closely, and with vse of gyle and deceite, ware euery day more craftier then other.

Many consultations to smal purpose.

The policy of the children of light.

The children of this world be lyke craftie hunters, they be misnamed children of light, for as much as they so hate lyght, and so study to do the workes of darkenes. If they were the children of light, they would not loue darkenes. It is no mernaile, that they go about to kepe other in darknes,

The children of this world are crafty hūters.

seyng

seyng they be in darkenes, from top to toe ouerwhelmed with darkenes, darker then is the darkenes of hell. Wherfore it is well done, in all orders of men, but in especiall in the order of Prelates, to put a difference betwene children of light, and children of the world, because great deceite ariseth, in takyng the one for the other. Great imposture commeth, when they that the common people take for the lyght, go about to take the sunne and the light out of the world. But these be easily knowen, both by the diuersity of mindes, and also theyr armours. For where as the children of light are thus mynded, that they seeke their aduersaries health, wealth, and profite, with losse of their owne commodities, and oft tymes with ieoperdy of their life: The children of the world, contrary wise, haue such stomackes, that they will soner see them dead, that doe them good, then sustaine any losse of temporall thynges. The armour of the children of light, are first the word of God, which they euer set forth, and with all diligẽce put it abroad, that as much as in them lyeth, it may bryng forth fruite: after this, patience and prayer, with the which in all aduersities the Lord comforteth them. Other thynges they commit to God, vnto whom they leaue all reuengement. The armour of the children of the world, are sometyme fraudes and deceites, sometimes lyes and money: By they first, they make their dreames, their traditions: by the second, they stablish and confirme their dreames, be they neuer so absurde, neuer so agaynst Scripture, honestie, or reason. And if any man resist them, euen with these weapons they procure to slea hym. Thus they bought Christes death, the very light it selfe: and obscured him after his death. Thus they bye euery day the children of light, and obscure them, and shall so doo, vntill the world be at an end. So that it may be euer true, that Christ sayd, The children of the world be wiser. &c.

Armour of the children of light.

Armour of the worldes children.

These worldlynges pull downe the lyuely fayth, and full confidence that men haue in Christ, and set vp an other faith, an other confidence, of theyr owne makyng: the children of light contrary. These worldlynges set little by such workes as God hath prepared for our saluation, but they extoll traditions and workes of their owne inuention: the children of

The children of this world destroy true faith, and set vp false fayth.

light

light contrary. The worldlynges, if they spie profite, gaynes, or lucre in any thyng, be it neuer such a trifle, be it neuer so pernitious, they preach it to the people, (if they preach at any tyme,) and these thynges they defend with toth & nayle. They can scarse disallow the abuses of these, albeit they be intolerable, least in disalowyng the abuse, they lose part of their profite. The children of the light contrary put all thynges in their degree, best highest, next, next, the worst lowest. They extoll thynges necessary, Christian, and commaunded of God. They pull downe will workes feyned by men, and put them in their place. The abuses of all thyng they earnestly rebuke. But yet these thynges be so done on both parties, and so they both do gender, that the children of the world shew them selues wiser then the children of light, and that fraudes and deceites, lyes, and money, seme euermore to haue the vpper hand. I hold my peace, I will not say, how fat feasles and ioly bankets be ioly instrumentes to set forth worldly matters withall. Neither the children of the world, be onely wyser, then the children of light, but are also some of them, among them selues, much wiser then the other in their generation. For albeit, as touchyng the end, the generation of them all, is one: yet in this same generation, some of them haue more craftily ingendred, then the other of their felowes.

The children of light extoll truth and abhorre abuses.

Instrumentes wherewith to set forth worldly matters.

For what a thyng was that, that once euery hundred yeare, was brought forth in Rome, by the children of this world, and with how much policie it was made, ye heard at Paules crosse, in the begynnyng of the last Parliament. How some brought forth Canonizations, some Expectatiõs, some pluralities, and vnions, some tot quots, and dispensations, some pardons, and these of wonderfull varietie, some Stationaries, some Jubilaries, some Pocularies for Drinkers, some manuaries for handlers of reliques, some pedaries for pilgrimes, some oscularies, for kissers: some of them ingendred one, some other such fetures, and euery one in that he was deliuered of, was excellent, politicke, wise, yea so wise, that with their wisedome they had almost made all the world fooles.

What frutes Papistically doctrine bringeth forth.

But yet they that begot and brought forth, that our old

aun-

auncient Purgatory picke pourse, that that was swaged and couled with a Franciscans cowle, put vppon a dead mans backe, to the fourth part of his sinnes, that that was vtterly to be spoyled, and of none other, but of our most prudent Lord Pope, and of hym as oft as hym liked: that satisfactory, that myssall, that scalary: they, I say, that were the wise fathers and genitours of this Purgatory, were in my minde, the wisest of all they generation: and so farre passe both the children of lighte, and also the rest of their company, that they both are but fooles, if ye compare them with these. It was a pleasaunt fiction, and from the beginning so profitable to the feyners of it, that almost, I dare boldly say, there hath bene no Emperour, that hath gotten more by tares and tallages of them that were alyue, then these the very and right begotten sonnes of the world got by dead mens tributes and giftes. If there be some in england, that would this sweeting of the world to be with no lesse policie kept still, then it was borne and brought forth in Rome, who then cã accuse Christ of lyenge? No no, as it hath ben euer true, so it shalbe, that the children of the world, be much wiser, not onely in making their thynges, but also in conseruing them. I wot not what it is, but somewhat it is, I wot, that some men be so loth to see the abuse of this monster, Purgatory, which abuse is more then abhominable. As who should say, there is none abuse in it, or els as though there can be none in it. They may seme hartely to loue the old thyng, that thus earnestly endeuour them to restore hym his old name. They would not set an heare by the name but for the thing. They be not so ignorant (no they be crafty) but that they know, if the name come agayne, the thing will come after. Therby it ariseth, that some mẽ make their crakes, that they (maugre of al mens heades) haue found Purgatory. I can not tell, what is found. This, to pray for dead folkes, this is not found, for it was neuer lost. How can that be found, that was not lost? O subtill finders, that can finde thinges (if God will) ere they be lostе. For that couetous deliueraunce, their scalarie losinges, their popall spoliations, and other such their figmentes, they can not finde, they can not finde. No these be so lost, as they themselues graunt, that though they seke them neuer so diligent-

The feigning of purgatory was an excellẽt inuention.

Purgatory the swete darling of worldlinges.

Finders of things not lost.

ly yet they shall not finde them, except perchance, they hope to see them come in agayne with their names. And that then money gathering may returne agayne, and deceite walke about the countrey, and so stablish their kingdome in all kingdomes. But to what end this chidyng betwene the children of the world, and the children of light, will come: onely he knoweth, that once shall iudge them both.

The children of this world, and the children of light cannot agree.

Now to make hast, and to come somwhat nigher the end, go ye to good brethren and fathers, for the loue of God go ye to, and seyng we are here assembled, let vs do some thyng, wherby we may be knowen to be the children of lyght. Let vs do somewhat, least we, which hitherto haue ben iudged children of the world, seme euen still to be so. All men call vs Prelates, then seing we be in counsell, let vs so order our selues, that as we be Prelates in honour & dignitie, so we may be Prelates: in holynes, beneuolence, diligence, and sinceritie. All men know, that we be here gathered, and with most feruent desire they anheale, breath, and gape for the fruit of our conuocation, as our actes shalbe, so they shall name vs, so that now it lyeth in vs, whether we will be called children of the world, or children of light.

Who they be that are right prelates.

Wherfore lift vp your heades, brethren, and loke about with your eyes, spye what thynges are to be reformed in the Church of England. Is it so hard, is it so great a matter for you, to see many abuses in the Clergy, many in the laity? What is done in the arches? Nothyng to be amended? What do they there? Do they euermore ryd the peoples busines & matters, or comber and ryfle them? Do they euermore correct vice, or els defend it, sometyme beyng well corrected in other places? How many sentences be giuen there in tyme, as they ought to be? If me say truth, how many without bribes? Or if all things be well done there, what do men in Bishops Consistories? Shall you after see the punishmentes assigned by the lawes executed, or els money redemptions vsed in their stede? How thinke you by the Ceremonies, that are in England, oft times with no litle offence of weake consciences, contemned: more often ner with superstition so defiled, and so depraued, that you may doubt, whether it were better, some of them to tary still, or vtterly to take them away? Haue not

The Arches.

Bishops consistories.

Ceremonies.

our

our forefathers complayned of the ceremonies, of the superstition, and estimation of them?

Holy dayes.

Do ye see nothyng in our holy dayes? of the which very few were made at the first, and they to set forth goodnes, vertue and honestie? But when, in some places, there is neither meane nor measure in making new holy dayes: as who should say this one thyng is seruyng of God, to make this law, that no man may worke. But what doth the people on these holy dayes? Do they giue them selues to godlynes, or els vngodlynes? See ye nothyng brethren? If you see not, yet God seeth. God seeth all the whole holy dayes, to be spent miserably in dronkennes, in glosing, in strife, in enuy, in daunsing, dycing, idlenes and glottonie. He seeth all this, & threatneth punishment for it. He seeth it, which neither is deceiued in seyng, nor deceiueth when he threateneth.

The day is holy if we be holy.

The Abuse of holy dayes.

Thus men serue the deuill, for God is not thus serued, albeit ye say, ye serue god. No the deuil hath more seruice done vnto him on one holy day, then on many working dayes. Let all these abuses be compted as nothing, who is he, that is not sory, to see in so many holy dayes, rich and wealthy persons to flow in delicates, and men that liue by their trauaile, poore men, to lacke necessarie meate and drinke for their wiues, and their children, and that they can not labour vpon the holy dayes, except they will be cited and brought before our officials? Were it not the office of good Prelates, to consult vpon these matters, and to seeke some remedy for them? Be shall see my brethren, ye shall see once, what will come of this our winking.

The Abuse of Images.

What thinke ye of these Images that are had more then their felowes in reputation: that are gone vnto, with such labour and wearines of the body, frequẽted with such our cost, sought out and visited with such confidence? What say ye by these images, that are so famous, so noble, so noted, beyng of them so many and so diuers in England? Do you thinke, that this preferryng of picture to picture, image to image, is the right vse, and not rather the abuse of Images? But you will say to me, why make ye all these interrogations? And why in these your demaundes do you let and withdraw the good deuotion of the people? Be not all thynges well done,

that are done with good intent, when they be profitable to vs? So surely couetousnes both thinketh and speaketh. Were it not better for vs, more for our estimatiō, more méter for mē in our places, to cut away a péece of this our profit, if we will not cut away all, then to winke at such vngodlynes, & so long to winke for a litle lucer, specially if it be vngodlynesse, and also seme vnto you vngodlynes? These be two thynges, so oft to séeke mere Images, & sometyme to visite the reliques of Saintes. And yet as in those, there may be much vngodlynes committed, so there may here some superstition be hyd, if that sometyme we chaunce to visite pigges bones, in steade of Saintes reliques, as in tyme past it hath chaunced (I had almost sayde) in Englande. Then this is to greate a blindnes, a darkenes to sensible, that these should be so commended in Sermons of some men, and preached to be done after such maner, as though they could not be euil done, which notwithstandyng are such, that neither God nor man commaundeth them to be done. No rather, men commaunded them either not to be done at all, or els more slowlyer and seldomer to be done: for as much as our auncetours made this constitution. We commaunde the Priestes that they oft admonish the people, and in especiall women, that they make no vowes, but after long deliberation, cōsent of their husbandes, and coūsell of the Priest. The Church of England in tyme past made this constitution. What saw they, that made this Decrée? They saw the intollerable abuses of Images. They saw the perils, that might ensue, of goyng on pilgrimage. They saw, the superstitious difference that men made betwene Image and Image. Surely somewhat they saw. The constitution is so made, that in maner it taketh away all such pilgrimages. For it so plucketh away the abuse of them, that it leaueth either none, or els seldome vse of them. For they that restreyne makyng vowes, for goyng of pilgrimage, restreine also pilgrimage. Seyng that for the most part, it is sene, that few go on pilgrimage, but vow makers, and such as by promise bynde them selues to go. And when, I pray you should a mans wife go on pilgrimage, if she went not, before she had well debated the matter with her selfe, and obteined the consent of her husband, beyng a

The visiting of relikes of saintes.

Pigges bones honoured.

A constitution made by the Church of England.

wife

wise man, and were also counselled by a learned Priest so to do? When should she go farre of, to these famous images? For this the common people of England thynke to be going on pilgrimage, to go to some dead and notable image out of towne, that is to say, from their house. Now if your forefathers made this constitution, and yet therby did nothing, the abuses euery day more and more encreased, what is left for you to do? Brethern and fathers, if ye purpose to do any thing, what should ye sooner doe, then to take vtterly away these deceitfull and iugling Images? or els if ye know any other meane, to put away abuses, to shew it, if ye intend to remoue abuses. We thinke it should be gratefull and pleasaunt to you to marke the earnest mynde of your forefathers, and to loke vpon their desire, where they say in their constitution, *We commaunde you*, and not *we counsell you*. Now haue we bene so long a colde, so long slacke in setting forth so holesom a precept of the church of Englande, where we be so hote in all thinges, that haue any gaynes in them, albeit they be neither cõmaunded vs, nor yet geuen vs by counsell: as though we had leauer the abuse of thinges should tary still, then it taken away, lose our profite. To let passe the solemne and nocturnall bacchanals, the prescript miracles, that are done vpõ certaine dayes in the West part of England, who hath not hard? I thinke ye haue heard of S. Bless hart whiche is at Maluerne, and of S. Algares bones, how long they deluded the people? I am afrayd, to the losse of many soules. Wherby men may well coniecture, that all about in this realme, there is plenty of such iugling deceites. And yet hitherto ye haue sought no remedy. But euen still the miserable people is suffered, to take the false miracles for the true, and to lye still a slepe in all kynde of superstition. God haue mercy vpon vs.

Deceitfull and Iugling Images are to be taken away.

Vigils & night watchinges.

Last of all, how thinke you of matrimony? Is all wel here? What of Baptisme? Shall we euermore in ministring of it speake Latine, and not english rather, that the people maye know what is sayd and done?

Matrimony.

What thinke ye of these masse priestes, and of the Masses themselues? What say ye? Be all thinges here so without abuses, that nothing ought to be amended? Your forefathers

Masses in the old tyme forbodden to be sold.

sawe somwhat, which made this constitution against the venalitie, and sale of Masses, that vnder payne of suspēding, no Priest should sell his saying of tricennals, or annals. What saw they, that made this constitution? What priestes sawe they? what maner of masses saw they, trowe ye? But at the last, what became of so good a constitution? God haue mercy vpon vs. If there be nothing to be amended abroade, concerning the whole, let euery one of vs make one better. If there be neither abroade nor at home any thing to be amended, and redressed, My Lordes be ye of good chere, be merry: and at the least because we haue nothing els to doe, let vs reason the matter how we may be richer. Let vs fall to some pleasaunt communication, after let vs go home, euen as good as we came hither, that is right begotten children of the world, and vtterly worldlynges. And while we liue here, let vs all make bone chere. For after this life there is small pleasure, little mirth for vs to hope for, if now there be nothing to be chaunged in our facions. Let vs say, not as S. Peter did: Our ende approcheth nigh, this is an heauy hearing: but let vs say as the euill seruaunt sayd: It will be long ere my maister come. This is pleasaunt. Let vs beate our fellowes. Let vs eate and drinke with dronckardes. Surely as oft as we do not take away the abuse of thinges, so ofte we beat our fellowes. As oft as we geue not the people their true fode, so ofte we beate our fellowes. As oft as we let them die in superstition, so ofte we beate them. To be shorte, as oft as we blinde, lead them blinde, so oft we beate and greuously strike our fellowes. When we walter in pleasures and idlenes, then we eate and drinke with dronckardes. But God will come, God will come, he will not tary long away. He wil come vpō such a day, as we nothing looke for hym: and at such an houre as we know not. He wil come and cut vs in peces. He will reward vs as he doth the hipocrites. He will set vs, where wayling shall be my brethren, where gnashing of teeth shall be my brethren. And let here be the ende of our tragedie, if ye will. These be the delicate dishes, prepared for the worldes well beloued children. These be the wafers and ionkets, prouided for worldly prelates, wayling & gnashing of teeth. Can there be any mirth, where

1. Peter. 4.

Math. 24. Luke. 12.

The delicates prepared for the children of this world.

these

these two courses, lack all the feaste? Here we laugh, there we shall weepe. Our teeth make mery here, euer dashing in delicates, there we shall be torne with teeth, and do nothyng but gnash and grinde our owne. To what ende haue we now excelled other in pollicy? What haue we brought forthe at the lasse? Ye see brethren what sorrow, what punishment is prouided for you, if ye be worldlinges. If ye will not thus be bered, be not ye the children of the worlde: If ye will not be the children of the world, be not striken with the loue of worldly thinges, leane not vpon them. If ye will not die eternally, liue not worldly. Come, go to my brothers go to, I say again, and once agayne, go to: leaue the loue of your profite, study for the glory and profite of Christ, take in your consultatiõs, such thinges as pertayne to Christ, and bring forth at the lasse somewhat that may please Christ. Fede ye tenderly with all diligence, the flock of Christ. Preach truly the word of God. Loue the light, walke in the light: and so be ye the children of lighte while ye are in this world, that ye may shine in the worlde, that is to come, bright as the sonne with the father, the sonne, & the holy ghost, to whome be all honour, prayse and glory. Amen.

A Sermon preached by the Reuerend Father M. Hugh Latymer, in the Shroudes at Poules Church in London, the xvij. day of Ianuary. *Anno.* 1548.

Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt. Rom. xv.



All thinges whiche are written, are written for our erudition and knowledge.

All thinges that are written in gods booke, in the Bible booke, in the booke of the holy scripture, are written to be our doctrine. I tolde you in my first sermon, honorable audience, that I purposed to declare vnto you two thinges. The one, what sæde shoulde be sowen in gods field, in gods plough land. And the other, who should be the sowers. That is to say, what doctrine is to bee taught in Christes church and congregation, and what men should be the teachers and preachers of it. The first parte I haue tolde you in the three sermons past, in which I haue assayed to set forth my plough, to proue what I could do. And now I shall tell you who be the plowers, for Gods worde is a sæde to be sowen in Gods field, that is the faithfull congregation, and the preacher is the sower. And it is in the gospel: *Exiuit qui seminat seminare semen suum* Ye that soweth, the husbandman, the ploughman went forth to sow his sæde, so that a preacher is resembled to a ploughman, as it is in an other place: *Nemo admota aratro manu, & a tergo respiciens aptus est regno Dei* No man that putteth his hand to the plough and loketh backe, is apt for the kingdome of God. That is to say: let no preacher be negligent in doyng his office. Albeit this is one of the places that hath bene racked, as I told you of rackyng scriptures. And I haue bene one of them my self, that hath racked it, I cry God mercy for it, and haue ben one of them that haue beleued & haue expounded it, against religious

The Sermons that he here speaketh of cam not pet to my handes.

Luke 9.

A place of scripture racked or misunderstand.

gious persons that would forsake their order, which they had professed, and would go out of their cloyster, whereas indéede it toucheth not Monkery, nor maketh any thyng at al for any such matter. But it is directly spoken of diligent preaching of the word of God. For preaching of the gospel is one of gods plough workes, and the preacher is one of Gods plough mē. Ye may not be offended with my similitude, in that I compare preaching to the labor and worke of ploughing, and the preacher to a plowman. Ye may not be offēded with this my similitude, for I haue bene slaundered of some persons for such thinges. It hath bene sayd of me: Oh Latimer, nay, as for him, I wil neuer beleue him while I liue, nor neuer trust him: for he likened our blessed Lady to a saffron bag, where in déede I neuer vsed that similitude. But it was as I haue sayd vnto you before now, according to that whiche Peter saw before in the spirit of prophecy, and sayd that there shold come afterward men: *Per quos via veritatis maledictis afficeretur*, there should come fellowes by whom the way of truth should be ill spoken of and slaundered. But in case I had vsed this similitude, it had not ben to be reproued, but might haue bene without reproche. For I might haue said thus, as the saffron bag that hath bene full of saffron, or hath had saffron in it, doth euer after sauour and smell of the sweete saffron that it contained: so our blessed Lady which conceyued and bare Christ in her wombe, did euer after resemble the maners and vertues of that precious babe which she bare. And what had our blessed Lady bene the worse for this? or what dishonour was this to our blessed Lady. But as preachers must be ware and circumspect that they geue not any iust occasion to be slaundered and ill spoken of by the hearers: so must not the Auditours be offended without cause. For heauen is in the Gospell likened to a mustarde séede. It is compared also to a péece of leauen, and as Christ saith, that at the last day he will come lyke a théefe, and what dishonor is this to God? or what derogation is this to heauen? Ye may not then (I say) be offended with my similitude, for because I liken preaching to a ploughmans labour, and a prelate to a plowman. But now you will aske me whom I call a prelate? A prelate is that man, whatsoeuer he be, that hath a flocke to

The right vnderstanding of this place.

How our lady might be compared to a saffron bag.

Similitudes vsed in the Gospell.

What a Prelate is.

be taught of him whosoeuer hath any spirituall charge in the faythfull congregation, and whosoeuer he be that hath cure of soule. And wel may the preacher and the plowman be likened together. First, for their labour in al seasons of the yere. For there is no tyme of the yeare, in which ỹ ploughmā hath not some speciall worke to do: as in my cōtrey in Leicestershire, the plowman hath a tyme to set forth, and to assay his plough, & other times, for other necessary workes to be done. And then they also may bee likened together for the diuersitie of workes, & varietie of offices that they haue to do. For as the ploughman first setteth forth his plough, and then tilleth his land, and breaketh it in furrowes, and sometyme ridgeth it vp agayne. And at an other tyme harroweth it, and clotteth it, and somtyme dongeth and hedgeth it, diggeth it, and weedeth it, purgeth, and maketh it cleane: so the prelate, ỹ preacher, hath many diuers offices to doe. He hath first a busie worke to bring his parishners to a right fayth, as Paule calleth it. And not a swaruing fayth, but to a fayth that embraceth Christ, and trusteth to his merites, a liuely fayth, a iustifieng fayth, a faith that maketh a man righteous without respect of workes. As ye haue it very well declared & set forth in the Homilie. He hath then a busie worke I say, to bring his flocke to a right fayth, and then to confirme them in the same fayth.

How the preacher is likened to the plowman.

The Prelate hath many offices.

Note the properties of a right fayth.

Now calling them downe with the law, and with threatninges of God for sinne. Now ridging them vp agayne with the Gospell and the promises of Gods fauour. Now weeding them, by telling them their faultes, and making them forsake sinne. Now clotting them, by breaking their stonye hartes, and by making them supple harted, and making them to haue hartes of flesh, that is soft hartes, and apt for doctrine to enter in. Now teaching to know god rightly, and to know their duty to God & to their neighbours. Now exhorting thē when they know their duetie that they do it, and be diligent in it: so that they haue a continuall worke to do. Great is their busines, and therfore great should be their hire. They haue great labours, and therefore they ought to haue good liuinges, that they may commodiously fede their flocke, for the preachyng of the worde of God vnto the people is called meate

The law feareth.

The Gospell comforteth.

He that laboureth is worthy of reward.

meate. Scripture calleth it meat, not strawberies, that come but once a yeare and tary not long, but are sone gone, but it is meate, it is no dainties. The people must haue meat that must be familiar and continuall, and daily geuen vnto them to fede vpon. Many make a strawbery of it, ministryng it but once a yeare, but such do not the office of good Prelates. For Christ sayth: *Quis putas est fernus prudens & fidelis? qui dat cibum in tempore.* Who thinke you is a wise and a fayth-full seruaunt? he that geueth meate in due tyme. So that he must at all tymes conuenient preache diligently. Therefore sayth he: Who trow you is a faythfull seruaunt? He speaketh it as though it were a rare thing to find such a one, and as though he should say, there be but a fewe of them to finde in the world. And how few of them there be throughout this realme that geue meat to their flocke as they should do: the Visitours can best tell. To few, to few, the more is the pitie, and neuer so few as now.

Preachyng is a dayly meate.

By this it appeareth that a prelate, or any that hath cure of soule, must diligently and substancially worke and labour. Therfore sayth Paul to Timothie: *Qui episcopatum desiderat, hic bonum opus desiderat.* He that desireth to haue ỹ office of a bishoppe, or a prelate, that man desireth a good worke. Then if it be good worke, it is worke. Ye can make but a worke of it. It is Gods worke, Gods plough, & that plough God would haue still going. Such then as loyter and lyue idlely, are not good prelates or Ministers. And of such as doe not preach and teache, nor do not their dueties, God sayth by his prophet Jeremy: *Maledictus qui facit opus dei fraudulenter.* Guilefully or deceitfully, some bookes haue *negligenter*, negligētly or slackly. How many such prelates, how many such bishops (Lord for thy mercy) are there now in Englande? And what shall we in this case do? Shall we company with them? O lord for thy mercy shal we not company with them? O Lord whither shal we flee from thē? But cursed be he that doth the worke of God negligently or guilefully. A sore word for them that are negligēt in discharging their office, or haue done it fraudulently, for that is the thing that maketh the people ill.

A bysshop must worke and labour in Gods harnes.

A terrible saying to vnpreachyng Prelates.

But true it must be that Christ sayth: *Multi sunt vocati, panci*

Math. 22. *pauci vero electi.* Many are called, but few are chosen. Here haue I an occasion by the way, somewhat to say vnto you, yea, for the place that I alledged vnto you before out of Jeremy the. 48. Chapter. And it was spoken of a spirituall worke of God, a worke that was cõmaunded to be done, and it was of shedding bloud, and of destroying the Cities of Moab. For (sayth he) cursed be he that kæpeth backe his sword frõ shedding of bloud. As Saule when he kept backe the sword from shedding of bloud (at what tyme he was sent agaynst Amalech) was refused of God for beyng disobedient to Gods cõmaundementes, in that he spared Agag the kyng. So that, that place of the Prophet was spoken of them that went to the destruction of the Cities of Moab, among the which there was one called Nebo, which was much reproued for idolatry, superstition, pride, auarice, cruelty, tyranny, and for hardnes of hart, and for these sinnes was plagued of God and destroyed.

Jerem. 48.

A warning to Londoners.

Now what shall we say of these rich Citizens of London? What shall I say of them? shall I call them wicked men of London, malicious men of London, mercyles men of London? No, no, I may not say so, they will be offended with me then. Yet must I speake. For is there not raignyng in London, as much pride, as much couetousnes, as much crueltie, as much oppression, as much superstition, as was in Nebo? Yes I thinke, and much more to. Therfore I say, repent O London, repent, repent. Thou hearest thy faultes told thee, amende them, amende them. I thincke if Nebo had had the preachyng that thou hast, they would haue conuerted. And you rulers and officers, be wise and circumspect, loke to your charge, and see you do your duties, and rather be glad to amende your ill liuyng, then to be angry when you are warned or told of your fault. What a do was there made in London at a certaine man, because he sayd (and in dæde at that tyme on a iust cause) Burgesses (quoth he) nay Butterflies. Lord what a do there was for that word. And yet would God they were no worse then Butterflies. Butterflies do but their nature, the Butterfly is not couetous, is not grædy of other mens goodes, is not full of enuie and hatred, is not malicious, is not cruell, is not mercyles. The Butterfly glo-

A warning to rulers and officers.

rieth

rieth not in her owne dedes, nor preferreth the traditions of men before Gods word, it committeth not idolatry, nor worshyppeth false Gods. But London can not abide to be rebuked, such is the nature of man. If they be pricked they will kicke. If they be rubbed on the gall: they will wynche. But yet they will not amende their faultes, they will not be ill spoken of. But how shal I speake wel of thē? If you could be content to receiue and folow the word of God and fauour good preachers, if you could beare to be told of your faultes, if you could amende when you heare of them: if you would be glad to reforme that is a mysse: if I might see any such inclination in you, that you would leaue to be mercyles and begin to be charitable, I would then hope wel of you, I would then speake well of you. But London was neuer so ill as it is now. In tymes past, men were full of pitie & compassion, but now there is no pitie, for in London their brother shall dye in the strytes for cold, he shall lye sicke at their dore betweene stocke and stocke. I can not tell what to call it, and perish there for hunger, was there any more vnmercyfulnes in Nebo? I thinke not. In tymes past when any rich man dyed in London, they were wont to helpe the poore Scholers of the Vniuersities with exhibition. When any man dyed, they would bequeth great summes of money toward the relief of the poore. When I was a Scholer in Cambridge my selfe, I heard very good report of London, and knew many that had relief of the rich men of Londō, but now I can heare no such good report, and yet I enquire of it, & herken for it, but now charitie is waxen cold, none helpeth the Scholer, nor yet the poore. And in those dayes what did they when they helped the Scholers? Mary they maintained and gaue them liuings that were very Papistes and professed the Popes doctrine, and now that the knowledge of Gods word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintaine them.

Gauled bayard will wynche.

Londoners are not mercifull.

The relefe of poore scholers, by the riche in London is gone

Charitie is waxen cold in London.

Oh London, London, repent, repent, for I thinke God is more displeased with London, thē euer he was with the citie of Nebo. Repent therfore repent London, & remember, that the same God liueth now that punished Nebo, euē the same God and none other, and he will punish sinne as well now,

as

as well now, as he dyd then, and he will punish the iniquitie of London as wel, as he did then of Nebo. Amende therfore. And ye that be Prelates, looke well to your office, for right prelatyng, is busie labourying and not Lordyng. Wherfore preach and teach, and let your plowe be doyng. Ye lordes I say that lyue like loyterers, looke well to your office, the plowe is your office & charge. If you liue idle & loiter, you do not your dutie, you folowe not your vocation let your plowe therfore be goyng & not cease, that the ground may bryng forth fruite.

An admonition to prelates.

But now me thinketh I heare one say vnto me: wot ye what you say? Is it a worke? Is it a labour? how then hath it happened, that we haue had so many hundred yeares, so many vnpreaching prelates, lordyng loyterers and idle ministers? Ye would haue me here to make answer, and to shewe the cause thereof. Nay, this land is not for me to plough, it is to stony, to thorny, to hard for me to plough. They haue so many thinges that make for them, so many thinges to lay for them selues, that it is not for my weake teame to plowe them. They haue to lay for them selues, long customes, certinonies, and authority, placing in Parliament, and many thinges more. And I feare me this land is not yet rype to be plowed. For as the saying is: It lacketh wethering: This geare lacketh wethering, at leaste way it is not for me to plough. For what shall I looke for among thornes, but pricking & scratching? What among stones, but stumbling? What I had almost sayde) among Serpentes but stinging? But this much I dare saye, that since lordyng and loytering hath come vp, preaching hath come downe, contrary to the Apostles times. For they preached and lorded not. And now they Lorde and preach not. For they that be Lordes, will ill go to plow. It is no meete office for them. It is not seeming for they estate. Thus came vp lordyng loyterers. Thus crept in vnpreaching prelates, and so haue they long continued. For how many vnlearned prelates haue we now at this day? And no marueil for if the plowmen that now be, were made Lordes, they would cleane geue ouer ploughing, they would leaue of they labour, and fall to lordyng out right, and let the plowe stand. And then both plowes not walking, nothing should be in the common weale but hunger. For euer since the Prelates

I weake teame.

Lordyng hath put down preachyng.

lates were made Lordes and nobles, the plough standeth, there is no worke done, the people sterue. They hauke, they hunt, they carde, they dice, they passtime in their prelacyes with galaunte gentlemen, with their daunsing minions, and with their freshe companyons, so that ploughing is set aside. And by their lording and loytring, preaching and ploughing is cleane gon. And thus if the ploughmen of the country, were as negligent in their office, as prelates be, we should not long liue for lacke of sustenaunce. And as it is necessary for to haue thys ploughing for the sustentacion of the body: so must we haue also the other for the satisfactiõ of the soule, or els we can not liue long gostly. For as the body wasteth and consumeth away for lacke of bodely meate: so doth the soule pyne away for default of ghostly meate. But there be two kindes of inclosing to let or hynder both these kindes of ploughing. The one is an inclosing to let or hynder the bodely ploughing, and the other to let or hynder the holy day ploughing, the church ploughing. The bodely ploughing, is taken in and enclosed thorow singular commodity. For what man will let go or diminish his priuate commodity, for a commune wealth: and who will sustaine any damage for the respect of a publique commodity? The other plough also no man is diligent to set forwarde, nor no man will hearken to it. But to hynder and let it, all mens eares are open, yea and a great many of this kinde of ploughmen which are very busy, and would seme to be very good workemen. I feare me some be rather mocke gospellers then faythfull ploughmen. I know many my selfe that professe the gospell, and liue nothing there after. I know them, and haue bene conuersant with some of them. I know them, and I speake it with an heauy hart, there is as litle charity and good lyuing in them, as in an other according to which Christ sayd in the gospell to the great number of people that followed him, as though they had had any earnest zeale to his doctrine, where as in deede they had it not. *Non quia uidistis signa, sed quia comedistis de panibus.* Ye follow me (sayth he) not because ye haue seene the signes & miracles that I haue done, but because ye haue eaten the bread and refreshed your bodies, therfore you follow me, so that I thinke many one now a dayes

The necessitie of the plough.

Inapt similitude.

Two kindes of inclosing.

Mock Gospellers.

Gayne begetteth Gospellers

professeth

profeſſeth the Goſpell for the lyving ſake, not for the loue they beare to Gods word. But they that will be true plough men muſt worke faythfully for Gods ſake, for the edyfying of theyr brethren. And as diligently as the huſband man plougheth for the ſuſtentation of the body: ſo diligently muſt the prelates & miniſters labour for the feding of the ſoule: both the ploughes muſt ſtill be going, as moſt neceſſary for man. And wherefore are magiſtrates ordeyned, but that the tranquility of the commune weale may be confirmed, limiting both ploughes. Both now for the fault of vnpreaching Prelates, me thinke I could geſſe what might be ſayd for excuſing of them. They are ſo troubled with lordly lyuing, they be ſo placed in palacies, couched in courtes, ruffeling in theyr rentes, dauncing in their dominions, burdened with ambaſſages: pampering of their paunches like a Monke that maketh his Jubilie, mounching in their maungers, & moyling in their gay manours and manſions, and ſo troubled with loytering in their Lordſhippes, that they can not attend it. They are otherwiſe occuppyed, ſome in Kinges matters, ſome are Amballadours, ſome of the priuy counſel, ſome to furniſh the courte, ſome are Lords of the Parliament, ſome are Preſidentes, and ſome Comptrollers of myntes. Well, well. Is this their duety? Is this their office? Is this their calling? ſhould we haue miniſters of the church to be comptrollers of the myntes? Is this a meete office for a prieſt that hath cure of ſoules? Is this his charge? I would here aſke one queſtion: I would fayne know who comptrolleth the deuill at home at his parſſh, while he comptrolleth the mynt? If the Apoſtles might not leaue the office of preaching to be deacons, ſhall one leaue it for minting? I can not tell you, but the ſaying is, that ſince Prieſtes haue bene mynters, money hath bene worſe then it was before. And they ſay that the ruinneſſe of mony hath made all things dearer. And in this behalfe I muſt ſpeake to England. Heare my country England, as Paul ſayd in his firſt epiſtle to the Cor. vj. Chapter. For Paul was no ſitting Biſhop, but a walking and a preaching Biſhop. But when he went from them, he left there behinde him the plough going ſtill, for he wrote vnto them and rebuked them for going to law and pleading theyr cauſes

The duetie of Magiſtrates.

Vnpreaching prelates.

Minting Prieſtes.

les before Heathen Iudges. Is there (sayth he) vtterly among you no wise man, to be an arbitratour in matters of iudgement? What? not one of all that can iudge betwene brother and brother? But one brother go to law with another, and that vnder heathen Iudges? *Constituite contemptos qui sunt in ecclesia. &c.* Appoynt them iudges that are most abiect, and vyle in the congregation, which he speaketh in rebuking them, for (sayth he) *Ad erubescentiam vestram dico.* I speake it to your shame. So England I speake it to thy shame. Is there neuer a noble man to be a Lord President, but it must be a prelate? Is there neuer a wyse man in the realme to be a Comptroller of the Pint? I speake it to your shame, I speake it to your shame. If there be neuer a wise man, make a Water bearer, a Tinker, a Cobler, a Slaue, a Page, Comptroller of the Pint. Make a meane gentleman a Grome, a Yeman, make a pore Beggar Lord President. Thus I speake not that I would haue it so, but to your shame, if there be neuer a gentleman mete nor able to be Lord president. For why are not the noble men and yong gentlemen of England, so brought vp in knowledge of God and in learning, that they may be able to execute offices in the common weale? The king hath a great many of wardes, and I trow there is a court of wardes, why is there not a schole for the wardes, as well as there is a court for their landes? Why are they not set in scholes, where they may learne? Or why are they not sent to the Vniuersities, that they may be able to serue the king when they come to age? If the wardes and yong gentlemen were well brought vp in learning and in the knowledge of God, they would not whē they come to age so much geue themselues to other vanities. And if the nobilitie be well trayned in godly learning, the people would follow the same trayne. For truly, such as the noble men be, such will the people be. And now the onely cause, why noble men be not made Lord presidentes, is because they haue not bene brought vp in learning. Therefore for the lone of God appoint teachers and schoolemaisters, you that haue charge of youth, and geue the teachers stipendes worthy their paynes that they may bring them vp in Grammer, in Logike, in Rethorike, in Philosophy, in the ciuill law,

The bringyng vp of Gentlemen.

Why noble mē be not made Lord Presidentes.

and in that which I cannot leaue vnspoken of, the word of God. Thankes be vnto God, the nobility otherwise is very well brought vp in learning and Godlynes, to the great ioy and comfort of England, so that there is now good hope in the youth, that we shall an other day haue a florishing common wealth, considering their godly education. Yea, there be all ready noble men inough, though not so many as I would wishe able to be Lord Presidentes, and wise men inough, for the mint. And as vnmeete a thing it is for Bishops to be Lord presidentes or priestes to be minters, as it was for the Corinthians to plead matters of variaunce before heathen Iudges. It is also a sclaunder to the noble men as though they lacked wisedome, and learning to be able for such offices, or elles were no men of conscience, or els were not meete to be trusted, and able for such offices. And a prelate hath a charge and cure otherwise, and therefore he cannot discharge his duety, and be a Lord president to. For a presidentship requireth a whole man, and a Bysshop can not be two men. A Bysshop hath his office, a flocke to teach, to loke vnto, and therefore he cannot meddle with an other office, which alone requireth a whole man. He should therfore geue it ouer to whom it is meete, and labour in his owne busines, as Paul writeth to the Thessalonians. Let euery man do his owne busines, and follow his calling. Let the Priest preach, and the noble men handle the temporall matters. Moses was a merueilous man, a good man. Moses was a wonderfull fellow, and did his duty being a maryed man, we lacke such as Moses was. Well, I would all men would loke to their duty, as God hath called them, and then we should haue a florishing Christian cõmon weale. And now I would aske a straunge question. Who is the most diligentest Bysshop and prelate in all England, that passeth all the rest in doing his office? I can tell, for I know him who it is, I know him well. But now I thinke I see you listining and harkening, that I should name him. There is one that passeth all the other, and is the most diligent prelate and preacher in all England. And will ye know who it is? I will tell you. It is the deuill. He is the most diligent preacher of all other, he is neuer out of his dioces, he is neuer from his cure, ye shall

A bishop ought to be a preacher

The diuell is a diligent preacher.

neuer

neuer finde him vnoccupyed, he is euer in his parish, he kee-peth residence at all times, ye shall neuer finde him out of the way: call for him when you will, he is euer at home, the dili-gentest preacher in all the realme, he is euer at his plough: no lording nor loytering can hynder him, he is euer apply-ing his busynes, ye shall neuer finde him Idle I warrant you. And his office is to hynder religion, to mayntayne super-stition, to set vp Idolatry, to teach all kinde of popery. He is ready as can be wyshed, for to to set forth his plough, to de-uise as many wayes as can be to deface and obscure Gods glory. Where the Deuill is resident and hath his plough go-ing: there away with bokes, and vp with candelles, away with Bybles and vp with beades, away with the light of the Gospell, & vp with the light of candelles, yea at noone dayes. Where the Deuill is resident, that he may preuayle, vp with all superstition and Idolatry, sensing, paynting of Images, candels, palmes, ashes, holy water, and new service of mens inuenting, as though man could inuent a better waye to ho-nour God with, then God himselfe hath appoynted. Downe with Christes crosse, vp with purgatory pickpurs, vp with him, the popish Purgatory I meane. Away with clothing the naked, the poore and impotent, vp with decking of Ima-ges and gay garnishing of stocks and stones. Vp with mans tradicions and his lawes, downe with Gods tradicions and his most holy word. Downe with the old honour due to god and vp with the new Gods honour: let all thinges be done in latine. There must be nothing but latine, not as much as *Memento homo quòd cinis es, et in cinerem reuerteris*: Remem-ber man that thou art ashes, & into ashes thou shalt returne. Which be the wordes that the minister speaketh to the ignor-aunt people, when he geueth them ashes vpon ashewens-day, but it must be spoken in latine. Gods word may in no wise be translated into English. Oh that our prelates would bee as diligent to sow the corne of god doctrine, as Sathan is, to sow cockel & darnel. And this is the Deuelish plough-ing, the which worketh to haue thinges in latine, and letteth the fruitefull edification. But here some man will say to me: what sir, are ye so priuy of the Deuils counsell, that ye know all this to be true? Truely I know him to well, and haue o-

The office of the diuell, and the fruites of his doctrine.

The diuell is the authour of all superstition

The diuell is much more diligent in his office, then our Bishops are in theirs.

beyed him a litle to much in condiscending to some follies. And I know him as other men do, yea, that he is euer occupyed and euer busy in followyng his plough. I know by S. Peter which sayth of him. *Sicut leo rugiens circuit quærens quẽ deuoret*, he goeth about like a roaring lyon seeking whome he may deuoure. I would haue this text well weyed and examined euery word of it. *Circuit*, he goeth about in euery corner of his dyoces. He goeth on visitacion dayly. He leaueth no place of his cure vnuisited. He walketh rounde about from place to place, and ceaseth not. *Sicut leo*, as a Lyon that is strongly, bodily, and proudly, stately, and fiercely with haute lokes, with his proude countenaunces, with his stately bragginges: *rugiens*, roaring, for he letteth not slippe any occasion to speake or to roare out when he seeth his time. *Quærens*, he goeth about seking and not sleping, as our Bishops do, but he seketh diligently, he searcheth diligẽtly all corners, where as he may haue his pray. He roueth abroad in euery place of his dyoces, he standeth not still, he is neuer at rest, but euer in hand with his plough that it maye go forewarde. But there was neuer such a preacher in England as he is. Who is able to tell his diligent preaching? which euery daye and euery houre, laboreth to sow cockel and darnel, that he may bring out of forme and out of estimation and rounne, thinstitution of the Lordes supper and Christes crosse, for there he lost his right, for Christ sayd: *Nunc iudicium est mundi, princeps seculi huius ejicietur foras. Et sicut exaltauit Moses serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis. Et cum exaltatus fuero, a terra, omnia traham ad meipsum.* Now is the iudgement of this world, and the Prince of this world shalbe cast out. And as Moses dyd lift vp the Serpent in the wildernes, so must the sonne of man be lift vp. And when I shalbe lift vp from the earth, I will draw all thinges vnto my selfe. For the deuill was disappointed of his purpose, for he thought all to be his owne. And when he had once brought Christ to the crosse, he thought all cocke sure.

The trauaile and paynes of the deuill were a good spurre to pricke forward our Bishops to be more diligent in their office.

Iohn. 3.

The deuill deceaued by Christ.

But there lost he all his reignyng, for Christ sayd: *Omnia traham ad meipsum*, I will draw all thinges to my selfe. He meaneth drawyng of mans soule to saluation. And that he sayd he would do: *Per semetipsum*, by his owne selfe, not by

any

any other bodyes Sacrifice. He ment by his owne sacrifice on the crosse, where he offered him selfe for the redemption of mankynd, and not the sacrifice of the Masse to be offered by an other. For who can offer him, but hym selfe? He was both the Offerer and the offeryng. And this is the pricke, this is the marcke at the which the Deuill shooteth, to euacuate the crosse of Christ, and to myngle the institution of the Lordes Supper, the which although he can not bryng to passe: yet he goeth about by his sleightes & subtile meanes to frustrate the same: and these fiftene hundreth yeares he hath bene a doer, onely purposing to euacuate Christes death, and to make it of small efficacie and vertue. For as Christ, accordyng as the Serpent was lift vp in wildernes: so would he him selfe to be exalted, that thereby as many as trusted in hym should haue saluation: the deuill would none of that. They would haue vs saued by a dayly oblation propiciatory, by a sacrifice expiatory, or remissory.

Note here a fruitefull and effectuall doctrine.

Now if I should preach in the coũtrey among the vnlearned, I would tell what propiciatory, expiatory and remissory is: but here is a learned auditory, yet for them that be vnlearned I will expound it. Propiciatory, expiatory, remissory, or satisfactory, signifie all one thyng in effecte, and is nothyng els but a thing whereby to obteine remission of sinnes, and to haue saluation. And this way the deuill vsed to euacuate the death of Christ, that we might haue afficiance in other thinges, as in the dayly sacrifice of the Priest, where as Christ would haue vs to trust in his onely sacrifice. So hée was: *Agnus occisus ab origine mundi*, the lambe that hath ben slayne from the begynnyng of the world, and therfore he is called, *iuge sacrificium*, a continuall sacrifice, and not for the continuaunce of the Masse, as the Blaunchers haue blaunched it, and wrested it. And as I my selfe dyd once mistake it. But Paule sayth: *Per semetipsum purgatio facta*, by him selfe and by none other, Christ made purgation and satisfaction for the whole world.

The papisticall doctrine.

Christes sacrifice is a continuall sacrifice, once offred for euer.

Would Christ this word (by hym selfe) had bene better weighed and loked vpõ, and *in sanctificationem*, to make them holy, for he is *iuge sacrificium*, a continuall sacrifice, in effect, fruite and operation, that like as they which seyng the Ser-

The brasen Serpent was a figure of Christ.

pent hang vp in the desert, were put in remembraunce of Christes death, in whom as many as beleued were saued: so all men that trust in the death of Christ shall be saued, as wel they that were before, as they that came after. For he was a continuall Sacrifice, as I sayd in effect, fruite, operation and vertue. As though he had from the begynnyng of the world, and continually should to the worldes end, hang still on the crosse, and he is as fresh hangyng on the crosse now, to them that beleue and trust in hym: as he was fiftene hundreth yeares ago, when he was crucified. Then let vs trust vppon his onely death, and loke for none other sacrifice propiciatory, then the same bloudy Sacrifice, the lively sacrifice, and not the dry Sacrifice, but a bloudy Sacrifice. For Christ him selfe sayd: *consummatum est*, It is perfectly finished. I haue taken at my Fathers hand the dispensation of redemyng mankynd. I haue wrought mans redemption, and haue dispatched the matter. Why then mingle ye hym? why do ye diuide him? why make you of hym mo sacrifices then one? Paule sayth: *Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*, Christ our passeouer is offered vp, so that the thyng is done, and Christ hath done it, and he hath done it *semel*, once for all. And it was a bloudy Sacrifice, not a dry Sacrifice.

Christ is our passeouer.

Why then, it is not the Masse that auayleth or profiteth for the quicke and the dead? Wo worth thée, O deuill, wo worth thée, that hast preuayled so farre and so long, that hast made England to worshyp false Gods, forsakyng Christ their Lord. Wo worth thée deuill, wo worth thée deuill and all thy aungels. If Christ by his death draweth all thynges to hym selfe, and draweth all men to saluation, and to heuenly blisse, that trust in him: Then the Priestes at the Masse, at the Popishe Masse (I say) what can they draw, when Christ draweth all, but landes and goodes from the right heyres? The Priestes draw goodes and richesse, benefices and promotions to them selues, and such as beleued in their sacrifice, they draw to the Deuill. But Christ it is that draweth soules vnto hym by hys bloudy Sacrifice. What haue we to do then, but *epulari in Domino*, to eate in the Lord at hys Supper.

Note here the mighty workmanship of the deuill.

Popish priests are diligent to serue the deuill.

What other seruice haue we to do to hym? and what o-

ther

ther sacrifice haue we to offer, but the mortification of our flesshe? What other oblation haue we to make, but of obedience, of good lyuyng, of good workes, and of helpyng our neighbours? But as for our redemption, it is done already, it cannot be better. Christ hath done that thyng so well, that it can not be amended. It can not be deuised how to make that any better then he hath done it. But the Deuill by the helpe of that Italian Bysshop yonder, his Chaplayne, hath laboured by all meanes that he might, to frustrate the death of Christ, and the merites of his passion. And they haue deuised for that purpose, to make vs beleue in other vaine things by his Pardons, as to haue remission of sinnes, for prayng on halowed Beades, for drinking of the bakehouse bole, as a Channon of Waltam Abbey once told me, that when soeuer they put their loaues of bread into the ouen, as many as dranke of the Pardon bole, should haue pardon for drinking of it. A mad thyng to geue Pardon to a bole. Then to Pope Alexanders holy water, to halowed belles, palmes, candels, ashes, and what not? And of these thynges euery one hath taken away some part of Christes sanctification. Euery one hath robbed some part of Christes passion and crosse, and hath mingled Christes death, and hath bene made to be propiciatory and satisfactory, and to put away sinne. Yea and Alexanders holy water yet at this day remaineth in England, and is vsed for a remedy agaynst spirites, and to chase away Deuils, yea and I would this had bene the worst. I would this were the worst. But wo worth thée, O Deuill, that hast preuayled to euacuate Christes crosse, and to mingle the Lordes Supper. These be the Italian Bysshops deuises, and the deuill hath pricked at this marke, to frustrate the crosse of Christ. He shot at this marke long before Christ came, he shot at this pricke foure thousand yeares before Christ hanged on the Crosse, or suffered his passion.

The seruice & oblation that we ought to offer vnto God.

Note here what trash we haue had from Rome.

For the brasen Serpent, was set vp in the wyldernes to put men in remembraunce of Christes comming, that like as they which beheld the brasen Serpent were healed of their bodely diseases: so they that loked spiritually vppon Christ that was to come, in him should be saued spiritually from the Deuill. The Serpent was set vp in memory of

Christ to come, but the Deuill found meanes to steale away the memory of Christes comming, and brought the people to worship the Serpent it selfe, and to sence him, to honor him, and to offer to him, to worshippe him, and to make an Idole of him. And this was done by the market men that I tolde you of. And the Clarke of the market did it for the lucre and aduauntage of his Maister, that therby his honour might encrease, for by Christes death, he could haue but smal worldly aduauntage. And euen now so hath he certain blaunchers longing to the market, to let and stoppe the light of the Gospel, and to hynder the Kinges procedinges in setting forth the worde and glory of God. And when the Kinges Maiesty with the aduise of his honourable Counsayle goeth about to promote Gods worde, and to set an order in matters of religion, there shall not lacke blaunchers that will say: As for Images, where as they haue bene vsed to be senced, and to haue candels offered vnto them, none be so folish to do it to the stocke or stone, or to the Image it selfe, but it is done to God and his honour before the Image. And though they should abuse it, these blaunchers will be ready to whysper the King in the eare, and to tell him, that this abuse is but a small matter. And that the same, with all other like abuses in the church may be reformed easely. It is but a litle abuse (say they) and it may be easely amended. But it should not be taken in hand at the first for feare of trouble, or further inconueniences. The people will not beare sodayne alterations: an insurrection may be made after sodayne mutation, which may be to the great harme & losse of the Realme. Therefore all thinges shall be well, but not out of hand, for feare of further busynes. These be the blaunchers that hitherto haue stopped the word of God, and hyndered the true setting forth of the same. There be many put offes, so many put byes, so many respectes, and considerations of worldly wisedome. And I doubt not but there were blaunchers in the olde time, to whysper in the eare of good King Ezechias, for the maytenaunce of Idolatry done to the brasen Serpēt, aswell as there hath bene now of late, and be now that can blaunche the abuse of Images as other like thinges. But good King Ezechias would not be so blynded, he was like to Apollo,

The saying of dissembling papistes.

The persuasiō of papistes.

There haue bene blanchers in tyme past, & so there are nu

Apollo, feruent in ſpirite. He woulde geue no eare to the Blaunchers, he was not moued with theſe worldlye reſpectes, with theſe prudent conſiderations, with theſe polycies, he feared not inſurrections of the people. He feared not leaſt his people would not beare the glory of God: but he (without any of theſe reſpectes, or pollycies, or conſiderations, like a good king for Gods ſake, and for conſcience ſake) by and by plucked downe the braſen Serpent, and deſtroyed it vtterly, and beate it to pouder. He out of hand, did caſt downe all Images, he deſtroyed all Idolatry, and clearely did extyrpate al ſuperſticion. He would not heare theſe blaunchers and worldly wyſe men but with out delay, followeth Gods cauſe and deſtroyeth all Idolatry out of hand. Thus dyd good King Ezechias, for he was like Apollo, feruent in ſpirite, and diligent to promote Gods glory. And good hope there is that it ſhall be likewiſe here in Englād, for the kings Maieſty is ſo brought vp in knowledge, vertue, and godlynes, that it is not to be myſtrusted, but that we ſhall haue all thinges well, & that the glory of God ſhall be ſpread abroad, throughout all partes of the realme, if the Prelates will diligently apply their plough and be preachers, rather then Lordes. But our blaunchers, which will be Lordes, and no labourers, when they are commaunded to go and be reſident vpon their cures, & preach in their benifices, they would ſay.

Ezechias a godly king, and a deſtroyer of Idolatry.

What, I haue ſet a deputie there, I haue a deputy that loketh well to my flocke, and the which ſhall diſcharge my duty. A deputy (quod he) I loked for that word all this while. And what a deputy muſt he be, trow ye? Euen one like him ſelfe, he muſt be a Cannoniſt, that is to ſay, one ỹ is brought vp in the ſtudy of the Popes lawes and decrees. One that will ſet forth papiſtry as well as himſelfe, and one that will mayntayne all ſuperſtition and Idolatrye. And one that will nothing at all, or elles very weakely reſiſt the Deuils plough, yea happy it is if he take not part with the Deuill, & where he ſhould be an enemy to him, it is well if he take not the Deuils part agaynſt Chriſt. But in the meane time the Prelates take theyr pleaſures. They are Lords and no labourers, but the Deuil is diligent at his plough. He is no vnpreaching prelate. He is no lordly loyterer from his cure, but a buſy

Biſhops appoint deputies to preach for them.

Behold what deputies biſhops appoint to ſerue in their places.

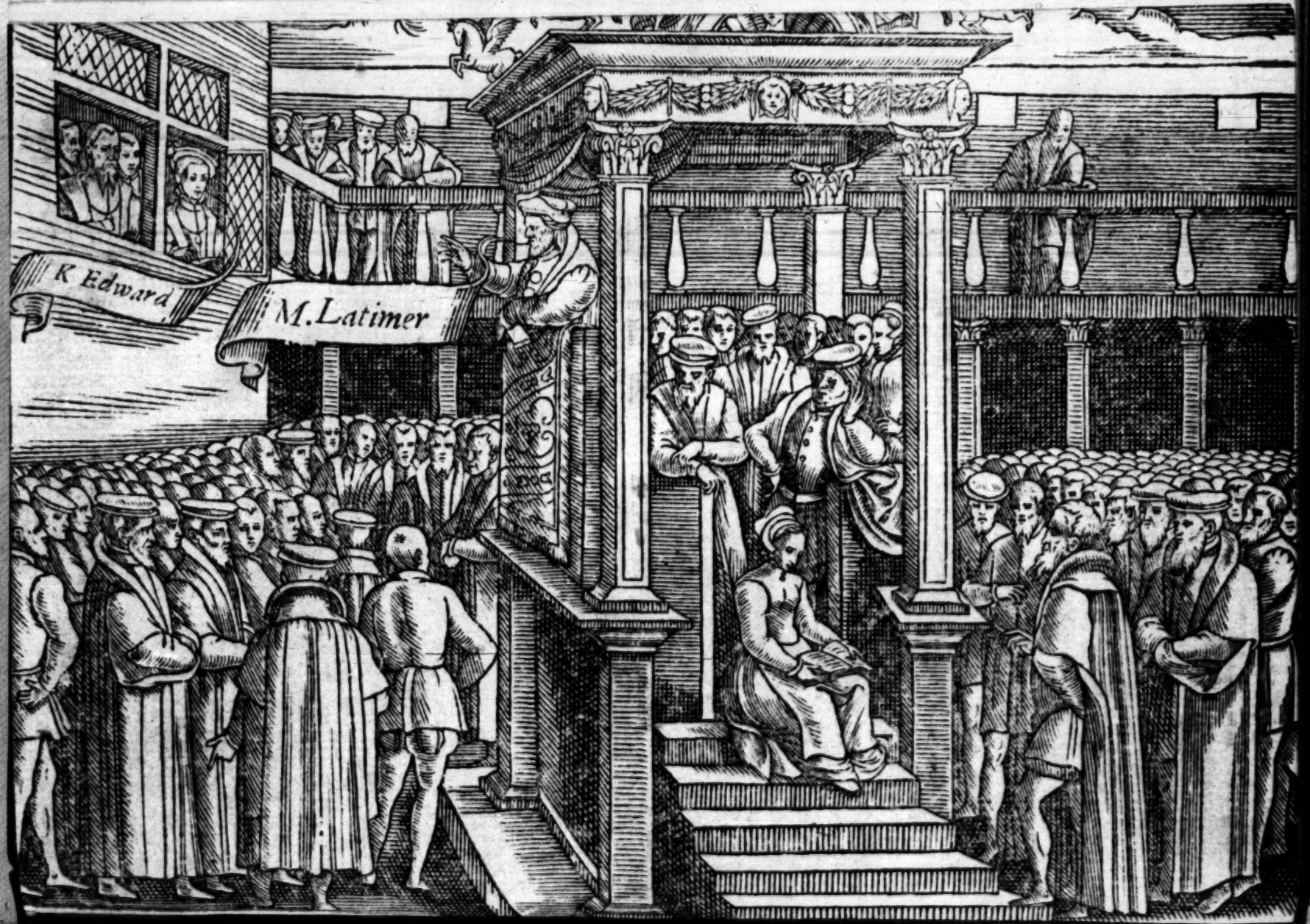
The deuill is no vnpreaching prelate.

a buſy plough man, ſo that among all the prelates & among all the packe of them that haue cure, the deuill ſhall go for my money. For he ſtill applyeth his buſynes. Therefore ye vnpreaching prelates, learne of the Deuill to be diligent in doing of your office. Learne of the Deuill. And if you will not learne of God nor good men: for ſhame learne of the Deuill, *ad erubeſcentiam veſtram dico.* I ſpeake it for your ſhame. If you will not learne of God nor good man to be diligent in your office, learne of the Deuill. Howbeit there is now very good hope that the Kinges maieſty, being by the helpe of good gouernaunce of his moſt honourable counſaylours, trayned and brought vp in learning and knowledge of Gods word, will ſhortly prouide a remedy & ſet an order herein, which thing that it may ſo be let vs pray for him. Pray for him good people, pray for him, ye haue great cauſe, and néede to pray for him.

The Deuill teacheth Biſhoppes to be diligent.

Amen.

C:D


K Edward
M. Latimer

Seuen Sermons preached by the Reuerend Father, M. Hugh Latimer, before our late ſoueraigne Lord of famous memory King Edward the vj. within the preaching place, in the palace at Weſtminſter, 1549. the viij. of Marche.



QVAECVNQVE ſcripta ſunt: *ad noſtrã doctrinam ſcripta ſunt*. Whatſoeuer thinges are written afore tyme, are written for our learnyng, that we through patience and comforte of Scripture myght haue hope. Rom. 15. a.

In taking this part of Scripture (moſt noble audience) I play as a trowant, which when he is at ſchole, will chuſe a leſſõ, wherin he is perfect, becauſe he is loth to take paine in ſtudieng a newe leſſõ, or els feareth ſtripes for his slouthfulnes. In like maner I might ſeme now in my old age to ſome men to take this part of Scripture, becauſe I would wade eaſily away therwith, and driue my matter at my pleaſure, and not to be bound vnto a certaine theame. But ye ſhal conſider that the forenayd wordes of Paul are not to be vnderſtande of all Scriptures, but onely of thoſe which are of God written in Gods booke, and all thinges which are therin, are writen for our learning. The excellẽcy of this word is ſo great, & of ſo hie dignitie, that there is no earthly thing to be cõpared vnto it. The author thereof is great, that is, God himſelfe, eternall, almighty, euerlaſting. The Scripture becauſe of him, is alſo great, eternall, moſt mighty, and holy. There is no king, Emperour, Maieſtrate, and ruler, of what ſtate ſoeuer they be, but are bound to obey this God, and to geue credence vnto his holy worde in directing their ſteppes ordinately according vnto the ſame worde: yea truely they are not onely bound to obey Gods booke, but alſo the miniſter of the ſame, for the wordes ſake, ſo farre as he ſpeaketh ſitting

The Scripture is that which is written in Gods booke, whiche we name the holy Bible.

Gen 1 a. and xvii. a. Deut. iiii. a. Eſay. xxvi a. Prou. viii. c. Daniel vii. c.

We muſt obey God, beleue his word, and follow it.

in

in Moses chayre, that is, if his doctrine be taken out of Moses law. For in this worlde God hath two swordes, the one is a tempozall swoꝛde, the other a spirituall. The tempozall swoꝛde resteth in the handes of kinges, maiestrates, and rulers vnder him, whereunto all subiectes, as well the clergy as the laitie, be subiect and punishable, foꝛ any offence contrary to the same booke.

This worlde ruleth with two swordes.

The tempozall swoꝛd.

The spirituall swoꝛd is in the handes of the ministers and Preachers, whereunto all kynges, maiestrates, and rulers, ought to be obedient, that is, to heare, and follow, so long as the ministers sit in chriſtes chayre, that is, speaking out of Chriſtes booke.

The spirituall swoꝛd.

Wath. xxiii.

The king may coꝛrect the preacher.

The king coꝛrecteth transgressours with the tempozall swoꝛde, yea, and the preacher also if he be an offender. But the Preacher can not coꝛrect the kyng if he bee a transgressour of Gods woꝛde with the tempozal swoꝛde. But he must coꝛrect and repꝛoue hym with the spirituall swoꝛde, fearing no man, setting God onely befoꝛe his eyes, vnder whome he is a minister to supplante and rote vp all vice and mischiefe by Gods woꝛde, whereunto all men ought to be obedient, as is mencioned in many places of Scripture, and amonges many this is one. *Quæcunque iusserint vos seruare seruate & facite.* Whatsoeuer they bid you obserue, that obserue and do. Therfoꝛe let the preacher teach, impꝛoue, amend and instruct in righteousnes with the spirituall swoꝛd, fearyng no man though death should insue. Thus Moses fearing no mã with this swoꝛde, did repꝛoue king Pharao at Gods commaundement.

How the preacher may coꝛrect a kyng oꝛ Queene.

Wath. 23. & 1. Tim. iij. & 2. Pet. 1. &

Exo. 5. 6. 7. &c. 3. Reg. 12.

Micheas the pꝛophete also did not spare to blame kyng Achab foꝛ hys wickednesse accoꝛdyng to Gods will, and to pꝛophecy of his destruction contrary vnto many false Pꝛophetes. These foꝛesayd kinges being admonished by the ministers of Gods woꝛde, because they would not follow their godly doctrine and coꝛrect their lyues, came vnto vther destruction. Pharao geuing no credite vnto Moyses the pꝛophet of God, but appliant vnto the lustes of his owne harte, what tyme he harde of the passage of Gods people, hauyng no feare oꝛ remembꝛaunce of Gods woꝛke, he with his army did pꝛosecute after entending to destroy them, but he and

King Pharao punished.

Exo. 14.

his

his people were drowned in the red sea. King Ahab also because he would not harken vnto Micheas, was kild with an arrow. Likewise also the house of Jeroboam, with other many, came vnto destruction because he would not heare the ministers of Gods worde, and correct his lyfe accordyng vnto his will and pleasure. Let the preacher therfore neuer feare to declare the message of God vnto all men. And if the kyng will not heare thē, then the preachers may admonish & charge them with their duties, and so leaue them vnto God and praye for them. But if the preachers digresse out of Christes chayre, and shall speake their owne fantasies then in steade of. *Quæcunque iusserint vos facere, facite, & seruate.* Whatsoeuer they bidde you obserue, that obserue and doe. Chaunge it into these wordes followyng: *Cauete vero vobis a pseudeprophetis qui veniunt ad vos, &c.* Beware of false prophetes which come vnto you in shepes clothing, but inwardly, they are rauenyng Wolues, ye shall know them by their frutes: yea chaunge *Quæcunque iusserint*, (if their doctrine be euill) into *Cauete a fermento Phariseorum, &c.* That is: Take hēde and beware of the leauen of the Pharises, and of the Sadduces. In teaching euill doctrine, all preachers are to be eschewed, and in no wyse to be harkened vnto. In speking truthe, they are to be harde. All thinges written in Gods boke, are most certayne true, and profitable for all men. For in it is contayned mēte matter for Kinges, princes, Rulers, bishops, and for all states. Wherefore, it behoueth euery Preacher, somewhat to appoynte and accommodate himselfe and his matter agreeable vnto the comforte and amendmente of the audience, vnto the which he declareth the message of God. If he preache before a kyng, let hys matter be concernyng the office of a kyng, if before a Bishop, then let hym treate of bishoply dueties and orders, and so forthe in other matters, as tyme and audience shall require.

Ahab. 3. Reg. 22. 3. Reg. 14

The preacher must haue God before his eyes

Euill preachers are to be refused.

Math. 7. g

Luke 11. a

In gods boke is matter for all estates.

A preacher must haue respect to his audience.

I haue thought it good to intreate vpon these wordes following, which are written in the xvij. Chapiter of Deuteronomy. *Cum veneris in terrā quam Dominus Deus dat tibi, possederisque eam, &c.* That is: When thou art come vnto the lande which the Lorde thy God geueth thee, and enioyest it,

Deut. 17.

eſt it, and dwelleſt therein: If thou ſhalt ſay, I will ſet a kyng ouer me: lyke vnto all the nations that are aboute me: Then thou ſhalt make him kyng ouer thee, whome the Lord thy God ſhall chuſe.

How God appointeth the election of a kyng.

One of thy brethren muſt thou make kyng ouer thée, and maiſt not ſet a ſtraunger ouer thée, which is not of thy brethren. But in any wiſe, let him not holde to many horſes, that he bring not the people agayne to Egipt, therowe the multitude of horſes, for as much as the Lorde hath ſayd vnto you: ye ſhall hencefoorth goe no more agayne that waye. Alſo he ſhall not haue to many wyues, leaſt his hart turne away, neither ſhal he gather hym ſiluer and golde to muche. As in diuers other places of ſcripture is méete matter for all eſtates. So in this foreſaid place is deſcribed chiefly the doctrine fitte for a kyng. But who is worthy to vtter this doctrine before our moſt noble kyng? Not I God knoweth, which am through age, both weake in body and oblitious, vnapt I am, not onely becauſe of painfull ſtudy, but alſo for the ſhort warning. Well vnto God I will make my mone, who neuer fayled me. *Auxiliator in neceſſitatibus.* God is my helper in all my neceſſities. To him alone will I make my petition. To pray vnto ſaintes departed, I am not taught, to deſire lyke grace of God as they had (right godly it is) or to beleue God to be no leſſe mercifull vnto vs (beyng faythfull) then he was vnto them, greatly comfortable it is. Therfore onely vnto God let vs lifte vp our hartes and ſaye the Lordes prayer.

Thynges touched moſt chiefly in the whole Sermon.

Cum veneris &c. When thou art come vnto the land which the Lord, &c. Thou ſhalt appoint him king, &c.

1. One of thy brethren muſt thou make kyng ouer thée, and muſte not ſet a ſtraunger ouer the which is not of thy brethren.

2. But in any wiſe let not ſuche one prepare vnto himſelfe many horſes that he bring not, &c.

3. Furthermore let him not prepare vnto himſelfe many wiues, leaſt his hart recéde from God.

4. Nor he ſhal not multiply vnto himſelfe, to muche golde, and ſiluer. As the text doth riſe, I will touch and goe a little in euery place, vntill I come vnto to muche. I will touche

all

all the forsayd thinges, but not to much. The text is, When thou shalt come into the land. &c. To haue a king the Israelits did with much importunitie call vnto God, and God long before promised them a king, and they were full certified thereof, that God had promised that thing: for vnto Abraham he sayd: *Ego crescere te faciam vehementer, ponamq; te in gentes, sed et reges ex te prodibunt.* that is, I will multiply thee excedingly, and will make nations of thee, yea, and kings shall spring out of thee. These wordes were spoken long before the children of Israell had any king. Notwithstanding yet God prescribed vnto them an order, howe they shoulde chose their king, and what maner of man he should be, where he sayth: When thou shalt come into the land. &c. As who should say, O ye children of Israell, I knowe your nature right well, which is euill, and enclined vnto all euils. I know that thou wilt chuse a king to raign ouer thee, and to appeare glorious in the face of the worlde, after the manners of Gentiles. But because thou art stiffe necked, wild, and art geuen to walke without a bridle, and line: Therefore now I will preuent thy euill and beastly maners, I will hedge strongly thy way, I will make a durable law, which shall compell thee to walke ordinately, and in a plaine way, that is, thou shalt not chuse thee a king after thy will and fantasie, but after me thy Lord and God. Thus God conditioned with the Iewes that their king shoulde be such a one as he him selfe would chuse them. This was not much vnlike a bargaine that I heard of late should be betwirt two frendes for a horse, the owner promised the other should haue the horse if he would, the other asked the price, he sayd xx. nobles. The other would geue him but iiij. pound: the owner sayd he should not haue it then. The other claimed the horse because he sayd, he shoulde haue him if he woulde. Thus this bargaine became a Westminster matter, the lawiers got twise the valure of the horse, and when all came to all, two fooles made an ende of the matter. Howbeit the Israelites could not goe to lawe with God, for chusing their king, for would they, nill they, their kyng should be of his chusing, lest they should walke inordinately

Gen. 17. 6.

The Iewes were restrained to chuse a kyng to their liking, but such a one as God would haue thē chuse.

A merry and wise tale.

in a deceiueable way, vnto their vtter losse and destruction.

A common saying.

For as they say commonly: *Qui vadit plane, vadit sane.* that is, He that walketh plainly, walketh safely. As the Iewes were stifnecked, and were euer redy to walke inordinatly, no lesse are we english men geuen to vntowardnes, and inordinate walking after our owne fantasies and braines. We wil walke without the limites of Gods worde, we will chuse a king at our owne pleasure. But let vs learne to frame our our liues after the noble king Dauid, which when he had many occasions, geuen of king Saule to worke euil for euil, yea, and hauing many times opportunitie to performe mischiefe and to slay king Saule. Neuertheles yet fearing, woulde not follow his fleshly affections and walke inordinately, without the will of Gods worde, which he confessed alwayes to be his direction saying: *Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum, & lumen semitis meis.* Thy worde, O Lord, is a lanterne vnto my feet and a light vnto my steppes.

1. Reg. 19.

1. Reg. 14.

Psal. 119. Gods word is our light.

Thus hauing in mind to walke ordinatly, he did alwayes auoyde to do euill. For when king Saule was in a caue without any man. Dauid and his men sitting by the sides of the caue, yea and Dauids men moouing him to kill Saule, Dauid made answere and sayd vnto them: *Seruet me Dominus, ne rem istam. &c. contra Dominum meum Messiam. &c.* that is, The Lorde keepe me from doing this thing vnto my maister, that is the Lordes annoynted. At an other time also, moued by Abisay to kill Saule sleeping, Dauid sayd: *Ne interficias eum, quis enim impunè manum suam inferet vncto Domini. &c.* that is, Destroy him not, for who can lay his hands on the Lordes annoynted, and be giltiles. &c. I woulde God we would follow king Dauid, and then we should walk ordinately, and yet do but that we are bounde of dutie to do, for God sayth: *Quod ego precipio, hoc tantum facito.* That thing which I commaund that onely do. There is a great error risen now a dayes among many of vs, which are vayne, and new fangled men climing beyond the limites of our capacitie and wit, in wrenching this text of scripture hereafter following, after their owne phantasie and brayne, their error is vpon

Dauid did walke ordinately.

1. Reg. 26. b.

Phantasticall braines are reproued mordinately.

pon this text: *Audi vocem populi in omnibus quæ dicunt tibi, non enim te reprobant, sed me reprobarunt ne regnem super eos* that is, Heare the voyce of the people in all that they say vnto thee, for they haue not cast thee away but me. They wrench these wordes awrie after they? owne fantasies, and make much doubt as touching a king, and his godly name. They that so do walke inordinately, they walke not directly and plainly, but delight in balkes and stubble way. 1. Reg. 8.

It maketh no matter by what name the rulers be named, if so be they shall walke ordinately with God, and direct their steps with God. For both patriarches, iudges, and kings had, and haue they? authoritie of God, and therefore godly. But this ought to be considered which God sayth: *Non præficere tibi potes hominē alienum*. that is, Thou must not set a stranger ouer thee. It hath pleased God to graunt vs a naturall leig king and Lorde, of our owne nation an englishman, one of our owne religion. God hath geuen him vnto vs, and is a most precious treasure, & yet many of vs do desire a strainger to be king ouer vs. Let vs no more now desire to be bankers, but let vs indeuour to walke ordinately and plainly, after the worde of God. God calleth his ministers by diuers names. King Edward the vj. is our naturall kyng and a most precious treasure. Let vs pray for his lyfe.

Let vs folow Daniel, let vs not seek the death of our most noble and rightfull king, our owne brother, both by natiuitie and godly religion. Let vs pray for his good estate, that he liue long among vs.

Oh what a plague were it, ? a strainge king of a strainge land, and of a strainge religiō should raigne ouer vs. Where now we be gouerned in the true religion, he should extirp and plucke away all together, and then plant againe all abhomination and popery. God kepe such a king from vs. Well the kinges grace hath sisters, my Lady Marie, and my Lady Elizabeth, which by succession and course are inheritoures to the crowne, who if they should marry with straingers, what should ensue? God knoweth. But God graunt, (if they so do: wherby strainge religion cōmeth in that they neuer come to coursing nor succeding. Therefore to auoyde this plague, let vs amende our liues, and put away all pride, whiche doth A strainger would root out all godlines & plant againe all hipocrisy. The way to remoue Gods wrath frō vs, is to remoue all vice from vs.

drowne men in this realme at these dayes, all couetousnes wherein the magistrates and rich men of this realme are ouerwhelmed, all lechery and other excessiue vices, prouoking Gods wrath were he not mercifull, euen to take from vs our naturall king and liege Lorde, yea, and to plague vs with a strainge king for our vnrepētant hart. Wherfore (if as ye say ye loue the king) amende your liues, and then ye shall be a meane that God shall send him vs long to raigne ouer vs, for vndoubtedly sinnes prouoke much Gods wrath. Scripture sayth: *Dabo tibi regem in furore meo.* that is, I will geue thee a king in my wrath. Now we haue a lawfull king, a godlie king, neuertheles yet many euels do raigne. Long time the ministers appoynted, haue studied to amende, and redresse all euils, long time before this great labour hath bene about this matter, great crakes hath bene made that all shoulde be well: but when all came to all, for all theyr boasts, little or nothing was done, in whome these wordes of Horace may well be verified, saying: *Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.* The mountaines swelleth vp, the poore mouse is brought out: long before this time, many hath taken in hande to bring many thinges vnto passe, but finally theyr workes came vnto small effecte and profite.

They that loue God or the kyng will amend their sinfull liuing.

Horatius.

Now I heare say all thinges are ended after a godly maner, or els shortly shall be. Make hast, make haste, and let vs learne to conuert, to repent, and amende our liues. If we do not, I feare, I feare, lest for our sinnes and vnthankfulnes, an hypocrite shall raigne ouer vs. Long we haue bene seruants, and in bondage, seruing the pope in Egipt. God hath geuen vs a deliuerer, a naturall king. Let vs seke no strainger of an other nation, no hypocrite which shall bring in againe all papistry, hypocrisie, and idolatry. No diabolicall minister which shall maintaine all deuillish workes and euell exercises. But let vs pray that God maintayne and continue our most excellent king here present, true inheritor of this our realme, both by natiuitie, and also by the speciall gift and ordinaunce of God. He doth rectifie vs in the libertie of the gospell, in that therefore let vs stand. *State ergo in libertate, qua Christus nos liberauit*

Latymer was a true prophet.

God hath sent vs a deliuerer.

Let vs no more seke to serue a strainger.

Let vs pray for our kyng.

liberauit. Stand ye in the libertie, wherewith Christ hath made vs free. In Christes libertie we shall stande: if we so liue that we profite: if we cast away all euill fraud and deceit, with such other vices, contrary to Gods worde: and in so doing we shall not onely prolong and maintaine our most noble kinges dayes in prosperitie: but also we shal prosper our own liues, to liue not onely prosperously, but also godly. Gal.5.a

In any wise, let no such a one prepare vnto him selfe many horses. &c. In speaking these wordes, ye shall vnderstande, that I do not entend to speake against the strength, policie, and prouision of a king, but against excesse, and vayne trust that kinges haue in them selues, more then in the liuing God the author of all goodnes, and geuer of all victory. Many horses are requisite for a king, but he may not exceed in them, nor triumph in them, more then is needfull, for the necessary assayres and defence of the realme: What meaneth it, that God hath to do with the kinges stable, but onely he would be maister of his horses. The scripture sayth: *In altis habitat*. He dwelleth on hye. It followeth: *Humilia respicit*. He loketh on the low thinges, yea, vpon the kinges stables, and vpon all the offices in his house. God is great graund maister of the kinges house, and will take accompt of euery one that beareth rule therein for the executing of their offices: whether they haue iustly and truly serued the king in their offices, or no. Yea God loketh vpon the king him selfe, if he worke well or not. Euery king is subiect vnto God, and all other men ar subiectes vnto the king. In a king God requireth sayth, not excesse of horses. Horses for a king be good and necessary, if they be well vsed: but horses are not to be preferred aboue pore men. I was once offended with the kinges horses, and therfore take occasion to speake in the presence of the kinges maiestie that dead is, when abbeies stood. Abbeies were ordeined for the comfort of the pore: wherefore I sayd it was not decent that the kings horses should be kept in them (as many were at that time) the liuing of pore men thereby minished and taken away: But afterward a certaine noble man sayde to me: what hast thou to do with the kinges horses? I aun-

What is ment that a prince should not haue many horses.

Psal.cxij.

God is graund maister in the kinges house.

swered and sayd, I spake my conscience as Gods word directed me. He sayd: horses be the maintenances and parte of a kinges honour, and also of his realme, wherefore in speaking against them, ye are against the kinges honor. I aunswered: God teacheth what honor is decent for the king, and for all other men according vnto they? vocations. God appointeth euery king a sufficient liuing for his state and degrée both by landes and other customes. And it is lawfull for euery king to enioy the same gwdes and possessions. But to extorte and take away the right of the powre, is against the honour of the king. If you do moue the king to do after that maner, then you speake against the honour of the king. For I fultcertifie you, extortioners, violent oppressors, ingrossers of tenements and landes, through whose couetousnes, villages decay and fall downe, the kinges liege people for lacke of sustenance are famished and decayed. They be those which speake agaynst the honour of the king. God requireth in the king and all maiestrates a good hart to walke directly in his wayes: and in all subiectes, an obedience due vnto a king. Therefore I pray God both the king, and also we his people may endeuour diligently to walke in his wayes, to his great honor and our profite. Let him not prepare vnto him selfe too many wiues. &c. Although we read here that the kinges amongest the Iewes had liberty to take more wiues then one, we may not therefore attempte to walke inordinately, and to thinke that we may take also many wiues.

An aunswer declaring the true honour of a king.

He describeth the dishonors of a king plainly & most truely.

God requireth a good hart.

Kinges of the Iewes had a dispensation to haue mo wiues then one.

For Christ hath forbidden thys vnto vs Christians. And let vs not impute sinne vnto the Iewes because they had many wiues. For they had a dispensation so to do. Christ limiteth vnto vs one wife only. And it is a great thyng for a man to rule one wyfe rightly, and ordinately. For a woman is frayle & proclyue vnto all euyls, a woman is a very weake vessell, and may sone deceiue a man, and bryng hym vnto euill. Many examples we haue in holy Scripture. Adam had but one wyfe, called Eue, and how sone had she brought him to consent vnto euill, and to come to destruction. How dyd wicked Iesabell peruerte kyng Yachabs hart from God and

One wife is hard to be well ruled.

A godly womā is to be chosen

all

all godlines, and finally vnto destruction. It is a very harde thyng for a man to rule well one woman. Therefore let our kyng, what tyme hys grace shall be so mynded to take a wife, chuse hym one which is of God, that is, which is of the housholde of fayth. Yea let all estates be no lesse circumspect in chosing her, taking great deliberation, and then they shall not nede diuorcementes, and such mischeues to the euyll example and slaunder of our realme. And that she be such one as the kyng can finde in hys hart to loue and leade hys lyfe in pure & chast espousage, and then shal he be ẏ more prone and redy to aduance Gods glory and to punish and extirpe, the great lechery vsed in this realm. Therfore we ought to make a continuall prayer vnto God, for to graunt our kyngs grace such a mate as may knitte hys hart and hers, according to Gods ordinance and law, and not to consider and cleaue onely to a politike matter or coniunction, for the enlarginge of dominions, for suerty and defence of countryes, settyng apart the institution and ordinaunce of God. We haue now a prety little shillyng, in dede a very prety one. I haue but one I thynke in my purse and the last day I had put it away almost for an old grote, & so I trust some wil take them. The finesse of the siluer I cannot se. But therein is printed a fine sentẽce. that is *Timor domini fons vitæ vel sapientiæ*. The feare of the Lord is the fountayne of lyfe or wisedome. I would God this sentence were alwayes printed in the hart of the king in chosing hys wyfe, and in all hys officers. For lyke as the feare of God is *fons sapientiæ* or *vitæ*. so the forgettyng of God is *fons stultitiæ*, the fountaine of folishnes or of death, although it be neuer so politike, for vpon such politike matters death doth ensue and folow. All their deuorcementes and other like conditions to the great displeasure of almighty God, which euils I feare me, is much vsed at these dayes in the mariage of noble mens children, for ioyning landes to landes, possessions to possessions, neyther the vertuous education, nor lyuing beyng regarded, but in the infancy such mariages be made, to the displeasure af God and breach of espousals. Let the kyng therefore chuse vnto hym a godly wyfe, whereby he shall the

Loue which is godly is de prferred aboue all earthly things in mariage.

Prouerb. xbi.

Pollicy if it be not of God bringeth death.

better lyue chast, and in so lyuing, all godlynes shall encrease and rightwisenes be maintcyned. Notwithstanding, I know hereafter some will come and moue your grace towardes wantonnes, and to the inclination of the flesh and vayne affections. But I would your grace should beare in memory, an history of a good king called Lewes, ỹ traueled towardes the holy land (which was a great matter in those dayes) and by ỹ way sickned, beyng long absent from hys wife. And vpon this matter the Philistians did agree, that it was for lacke of a woman. And did consult with the Byshops therin, who did conclude that because of the distance of his wife (beyng in an other countrey) he should take a wench. Thys good kyng hearyng their conclusion would not assent there vnto, but sayd, he had rather be sicke euẽ vnto the death, then he would breake hys espousals: Wo worth such councellers, Byshops, nay rather bussardes.

A notable history of a French king.

The good counsell of bishops.

Neuertheless if the kyng should haue consented to theyr conclusion, and accomplyshed the same, if he had not chaunsed well, they would haue excused the matter, as I haue hard of two that haue consulted together, and accordyng to the aduise of hys frend, the one of them wrought where the succession was not good. The other imputed a peece of reproche to hym for hys such counsell geuen. He excused the matter saying: that he gaue hym none other councell, but if it had bene his cause, he would haue done likewise.

So I thynke the Byshops would haue excused the matter, if the kyng should haue reproued them for theyr counsell. I do not reade that the kyng dyd debuke them for theyr coũcell, but if he had, I know what would haue bene theyr aunswere. They would haue sayde, we geue you no worse councell, then we would haue folowed our selues, if we had bene in lyke case. Well sir, this kyng dyd well, and had the feare of God before his eyes. He would not walk in by walkes, where are many balkes. Amongst many balkinges, is much stombling, and by stombling it chaunceth many times to fall downe to the ground. And therefore, let vs not take any by-walkes, but let Gods worde direct vs, let vs not walke after,

Note.

The king fearing God auoyded euill.

nor

nor leane to our owne iudgementes and procedinges of our forfathers, nor ſeeke not what they did, but what they ſhould haue done, of which thing ỳ ſcripture admoniſheth vs, ſaying: *Ne inclinemus præceptis & traditionibus patrum neq; faciamus quod videtur rectum in oculis noſtris.* Let vs not inclyne our ſelues vnto the precepts and traditions of our fathers, nor let vs do that ſeemeth right in our eyes. But ſurely, we will not exchange our fathers doinges and traditions wyth ſcripture, but chiefely leane vnto them and to theyr preſcription, and do that ſemeth good in our owne eyes. But ſurely that is goyng downe the ladder, *Scala cæli*, as it was made by the Pope came to be a maſſe, but that is a falſe ladder to bring men to heauen. The true ladder to bring a man to heauen is ỳ knowledge and folowing of ỳ ſcripture. Let the king therfore chuſe a wife which feareth God, let him not ſeeke a proud, wantõ, and one full of rich treaſures and worldly pompe. He ſhal not multiply vnto himſelfe to much golde and ſiluer. Is there to much thinke you for a kyng? God doth alow much vnto a kyng, and it is expedient that he ſhould haue much, for he hath great expenſes, and many occaſions to ſpend much for the defence and ſurety of his realme and ſubiectes. And neceſſary it is that a king haue a treaſure alwayes in a readines for that, and ſuch other affayres, as be dayly in hys handes. The which treaſure, if it be not ſufficient, he may lawfully and with a ſafe conſcience, take taxis of his ſubiectes. For it were not mete, the treaſure ſhould be in the ſubiectes purſes whan the mony ſhould be occupied, nor it were not beſt for them ſelues, for the lacke thereof, might cauſe both it, and all the raſt that they haue, ſhould not long be theirs. And ſo for a neceſſary and expedient occaſion, it is warranted by Gods word to take of the ſubiectes. But if there be ſufficient treaſures, and the burdening of ſubiects be for a vayne thing, ſo that he will require thus much, or ſo much of his ſubiectes, (which perchance are in great neceſſity, and penury.) Then thys couetous intent, and the requeſt thereof is to much, which God forbiddeth the king here in thys place of ſcripture to haue. But who ſhall ſée this to much, or tell the king of

Deut. xij. a.

The third part of ỳ ſermõ.

A king may haue much, for his expenſes are great.

Note when the king hath to much of his cõmons.

Who ſhall ſee this to much.

this to much. Thinke you any of the kinges priuy chamber? No. For feare of losse of fauour. Shall any of hys sworne chaplaynes? No. They be of the closet, and keepe close such matters. But the king hymselfe must see to this to much, and that shall he do by no meanes with the corporall eyes: Wherfore he must haue a payre of spectacles, which shall haue two cleare sightes in them, that is, that one is faith, not a seasonable faith, which shall last but a while, but a faith, which is continuing in God. The second cleare sight is charity, which is feruent towardes his christen brother. By them two, must the king see euer when he hath to much. But few there be that vseth these spectacles, the more is their damnation. Not without cause Chrisostome wyth admiration sayeth, *Miror si aliquis rectorum potest saluari:* I maruell if any ruler can be saued. Which wordes he speaketh not of an impossibility, but of a great difficulty. For that their charge is maruelous great and that none about them dare shew them the truth of the thing how it goeth. Well: then if God will not alow a kyng to much. Whether will he alow a subiect to much? no, that he will not. Whether haue any men here in England to much? I doubt most rich men haue to much, for without to much, we can get nothyng. As for example. The Phisition. If the poore man be diseased, he can haue no helpe without to much: and of the Lawyer, the poore man can get no counsell, expedicion, nor helpe in his matter, except he geue hym to much. At marchants handes, no kynde of ware can be had, except we geue for it to much. You landlords, you rentraisers, I may say you stealers, you vnnaturall lords, you haue for your possessions yearely to much. For that here before went for xx. or xl. pound by yeare (which is an honest portion to be had *gratis* in one Lordship, of an other mans sweat and labour) now is it let for L. or an C. pound by yeare. Of this to much commeth this monsterous and portentuous dearthe made by man, notwithstanding God doth send vs plentifully the fruites of the earth mercifully, contrary vnto our desertes. Notwithstãding to much, which these rich men haue, causeth such dearth, that poore men (which liue of their labour)

None that be seruaunts to ỹ king.

Corporall eyes can not see to much.

Spiritual eyes are to be had, faith & charity.

Chrisostomes saying.

If God will not graunt to much vnto a king, much les vnto ỹ subiect.

Who is not faulty in taking too much learne.

Phisitions Lawiers.

Marchantes.

Landlordes.

Rentraysers Stealordes.

Vnnatural lordes.

Of this to much cõmeth all dearth and scarcitie.

bour) cannot wyth the ſweat of their face haue a liuing, all kinde of victuals is ſo deare, pigges, geſe, Capons Chickens, egges. &c. Theſe thynges with other are ſo vnreaſonably enhanſed. And I thinke verely, that if it thus continue: we ſhall at length be conſtrayned to pay for a pigge a pound. I wyll tell you my Lordes and maiſters, this is not for the kinges honour: yet ſome will ſay, knoweſt thou what belongeth vnto the kinges honour better thē we? I anſwere, that the true honour of a kyng, is moſt perfectly mencioned and painted forth in the ſcriptures, of which, if ye be ignorant, for lacke of tyme that ye cannot read it, albeit, that your counſaile be neuer ſo politike, yet is it not for the kinges honour. What hys honour meaneth ye cannot tell. It is the kinges honour that hys ſubiectes be led in the true religion. That all hys prelats and cleargy be ſet about theyr worke in preaching and ſtudying, and not to be interrupted from their charge. Alſo it is the kynges honour that the common wealth be aduaunced, that the dearth of theſe forſayde thynges be prouided for, and the commodities of this realme ſo employed, as it may be to the ſetting his ſubiectes on worke, and keping them from idleneſſe. And herein reſteth the kynges honour and his office. So doing, his accompt before God ſhalbe alowed, and rewarded. Furthermore, if the kinges honour (as ſome men ſay) ſtandeth in the great multitude of people. Then theſe graſiers, incloſers, and rentrearers, are hinderers of the kynges honor. For where as haue ben a great many of houſholders and inhabitauntes, there is now but a ſhepheard and hys dogge, ſo they hinder the kynges honour moſt of all. My Lordes and mayſters, I ſay alſo, that all ſuch procedynges which are agaynſt the kynges honour (as I haue a parte declared before) and as far as I can perceiue, do intend plainly, to make the yomāry ſlauery, and the clergy ſhauery. For ſuch works are all ſingular, priuate wealth and commodity. We of the clergy had to much, but that is is taken away, and now we haue to litle. But for myne owne part, I haue no cauſe to complaine, for I thanke God and the king, I haue ſufficient. And God is my iudge I came not to craue of any man, a-

Note the couetous men.

This to much is not for the kings honor.

A deſcription of the kinges honour.

Firſt in true religion.

Secondly a wealthy continualtie.

Thirdly the kinges honour ſtandeth in the multitude of people.

This to much will make yomanry ſlauery, and the clergy ſhauery.

Clergie had to much, but now too litle.

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ny thing, but I know them that haue to little. There lyeth a great matter by these appropriations, great reformation is to be had in them. I know where is a great market towne with diuers hamelets and inhabitantes, where do rise yearely of theyr labours to the value of fifty pound, and the Vicar that serueth (being so great a cure) hath but .iij. or .iiij. markes by yeare, so that of this pension he is not able to buy him bookes, nor geue his neighbour drinke, all the great gayne goeth an other way.

An example of the clergie.

My father was a yoman, and had no landes of hys owne, onely he had a farme of .iij. or .iiij. pound by yeare at the vttermost, and hereupon he tilled so muche as kept halfe a dossen men. He had walke for an hundred shæpe, and my mother milked .xx. kyne. He was able, and did finde the king a harnesse, with himselfe and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receyue the kinges wages. I can remember, that I buckled his harnesse, when he went vnto Blacke heath fielde. He kept me to schole, or els I had not bene able to haue preached before the kynges maiesty now. He maryed my sisters with fiue pound, or .xx. nobles a piece, so that he brought them vp in godlinesse, and feare of God. He kept hospitality for his powre neighboures. And some almes he gaue to the powre, and all thys did he of the sayde farme. Where he that now hath it, payeth .xvj. pound by yeare or more, and is not able to do any thyng for hys prince, for himselfe, nor for hys children, or geue a cup of drinke to the powre.

An example of the yomanry.

Thus all the enhaunsing and rearing goeth to your priuate commoditie and wealth. So that where ye had a single to much, you haue that: & since the same, ye haue enhaunced the rent, and so haue encreased an other to much: so now ye haue double to much, which is to to much. But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worne to the stompes, nothing is amended. We haue good statutes made for the common wealth as touching commoners, & enclosers, many meetings, and sessions, but in the ende of the matter, there commeth nothing forth. Well, well, this is one thing I wil say vnto you, from whence it commeth I knowe, euen from the deuill. I know

No preaching can helpe this euill.

Many statutes but small helpe.

The deuil is author of too much.

knowe his entent in it. For if ye bring it to passe, that the yeomanry be not able to put theyr sonnes to schole (as indeede vniuersities do wonderously decay already) and that they be not able to mary theyr daughters to the auoyding of whoredome, I say ye plucke saluation from the people, and vtterly destroy the realme. For by yomens sonnes, the faith of Christ is, and hath bene maintained chiefly. Is this realme taught by rich mens sonnes? no, no. Read the chronicles: ye shal find sometime noble mens sonnes, which haue bene vnpreaching bishops and prelates, but ye shall finde none of them learned men: but verily, they that should loke to the redresse of these thinges, be the greatest against them. In this realme are a great many folkes, and amongest many, I knowe but one of tender zeale, at the motion of his poore tenantes, hath let downe his landes to the old rents for theyr relefe. For Gods loue, let not him be a phenix, let him not be alone, let him not be an heremite closed in a wall, some good man followe him, and do as he geueth example.

The decay of learning and purity of lyfe.
Saluation resteth in them.
Yeomēs sonnes be teachers of God.
A notable thing.

Surueyers there be, that gredely gorge vp their conetous goodes, handmakers I meane, honest men I touche not) but but all such as suruey, they make vp theyr mouthes, but the commons be vtterly vndone by them: whose bitter cry ascending vp to the eares of the God of Sabaoth, the gredy pit of hell burning fire (without great repentance) do tary and loke for them. A redresse God graunt. For surely, surely, but that two thynges do comfort me, I would despayre of the redresse in these matters. One is, that the kynges maiesty whē he commeth to age: will sée a redresse of these thinges so out of frame. Geuing example by letting downe his owne lands first, and then enioyne his subiects to folow hym. The second hope I haue is, I beleue that the generall accompting day is at hand, the dreadfull day of iudgement I meane, which shal make an end of all these calamityes and miseries. For as the scriptures be. *Cum dixerint pax pax*, when they shall say peace, peace: *Omnia tuta*, all thinges are safe: Then is the day at hand, a mery day I say, for all such as do in this world study to serue and please God, and continue in his faith, feare and loue:

Surueyers de handmakers.
The cry of the poore.

loue: and a dreadfull horrible day for them that decline from God, walking in their owne wayes, to whom as it is writ- ten in the xxv. of Matthew is sayde: *Ite maledicti in ignem aeternum.* Go ye cursed into euerlasting punishment, where shall be wayling and gnashing of teeth. But vnto the other he shall say: *Venite benedicti:* Come ye blessed children of my Father, possesse ye the kingdome prepared for you from the beginning of the world, of the which God make vs all partakers. Amen.

The reward of wicked me.

The blesse of the godly.

¶ The ſecond Sermon of M. Latimer, preached before K. Edward.

QVÆCVNQVE scripta sunt: ad *nostram doctrinam. &c.* All thynges that are written in Gods booke, in the holy Bible, they were written before our tyme, but yet to contynue from age to age as long as the worlde doth stand.

In this booke is contayned doctrine for all estates, euen for kinges. A king herein may learne how to guide himselfe, I tolde you in my last Sermon, much of the dutye of a kyng. And there is one place behinde yet, and it folowethin the text. *postquam autem sederit in solio regni sui. &c.*

In Gods boke is contained doctrine for all estates.

Deut. 17.

And when the kyng is set in the seate of hys kyngdome, he shall write hym out a booke, and take a copye of the Priestes or Leuites. He shall haue a booke wyth hym, and why? to reade in it all the dayes of hys lyfe, to learne to feare God, and learne hys lawes, and other thynges, as it foloweth in the text wyth the appurtenances and hanginges on, that he turne not from God, neither to the right hand, nor to the left. And wherefore shall he do thys? that he may lyue long, he and hys children.

Vetherto goeth the text, That I may declare thys the better

better to the edifiyng of your soules and the glory of God, I shall desire you to pray &c. *Et postquam. &c.* Before I enter into this place (right honorable audience) to furnish it accordingly, which by the grace of God I shall do at leasure, I would repete the place I was in last, and furnish it with an history or two, which I left out in my last sermon. I was in a matter concerning the sturdines of the Jewes, a froward and stifnecked kinde of people, much like our Englishe men now a dayes, that in the minority of a king, take upon them to breake lawes, and to go bywayes. For when God had promised them a king, when it came to the point they refused him. These men walked by walkes, and the saying is, many bywalkes, many balkes, many balkes much stumbling, and where much stumbling is, there is sometime a fall, how be it there were some good walkers among them, that walked in the kinges high way ordinarily, upryghtly, playne Dunstable way, and for this purpose I would shew you an history which is written in the thirde of the kinges.

The stifnecked Jewes and our Englishe men compared together.

In English adage, otherwise called an olde said saw.

King Dauid being in his childhode, an olde man, in his second childhode, for all olde mē are twise childrē, as the Prouerbe is. *Senex bis puer.* An olde man, twise a childe, it happened with him, as it doth oftentimes, when wicked men of a kings childhode take occasion of euill. 3. Kinges. 1.

This king Dauid being weake of nature and impotent, in so much that when he was couered with clothes, he coulde take no heate; was counsailed of his seruaunts to take a faire young maide to nourish him, and to keepe him warme in his body, I suppose she was his wife. How be it he had no bodily cōpany with her, and well she might be his wife. For though the scripture doth say. *Non cognouit eam.* He knew her not, he had no carnall copulation with her, yet it saith not: *Non duxit eam uxorem.* He maried her not. And I cānot thinke that king Dauid would haue her to warme his bosome in bed, except she had bene his wife, hauing a dispensation of God to haue as many wiues as he would. For God had dispensed with them to haue many wiues. Well what happened to kyng Dauid in his childhode, by the childe of the deuill? Ye shall heare.

King

Adonias the. 4. of kings the first.

King Dauid had a proud sonne, whose name was Adonias, a man full of ambition, desirous of honour, alwayes climing, climing. Now, whiles the time was of his fathers childhode, he woulde depose his father, not knowing of his fathers minde, saying: *Ego regnabo*, I will raigne, I will be king, he was a stout stomaked childe, a bywalker, of an ambitious mynde, he woulde not consent to his fathers frendes but gat him a charret, and men to runne before it, and diuers other adherentes to helpe him forwarde, worldly wise men, such as had bene before of his fathers counsaile, great men in the worlde, and some no doubt of it, came of good will thinking no harme, for they would not thinke, that he did it without his fathers will, hauing such great men to set him forth, for euery man can not haue accesse at all times to the king, to know his pleasure: well, algates he woulde be king.

Ioab captayne generall of Dauids army.

He makes a great feast, and thether he called Ioab the ringleader of his fathers armie, a worldly wise man, a bywalker, that would not walke the kinges hie way, and one Abiathar the high Priest. For it is maruayle if any mischiefe be in hand, if a Priest be not at some end of it, they toke hym as king, and cryed *Viuat Rex Adonias*. God saue king Adonias, Dauid suffred all this, and let him alone, for he was in his childhode a bedred man. But see how God ordered the matter. Nathan the Prophet and Sadoc a Priest, and Banaiah, and Crethytes, and Phelethites the kings garde, they were not called to the feast.

These were good men, and would not walke bywayes, therfore it was folly to breake the matter to them, they were not called to counsell. Therefore Nathan when he heard of this, he commeth to Bethsabe, Salomons mother, and saith. Heare ye not how Adonias the sonne of Ageth raigneth king, Dauid not knowing? And he bad her put the king in mynde of his oth that he sware that her sonne Salomon should be king after hym, this was wise counsayle according to the prouerbe. *Qui vadit plane, vadit sane*. He that walketh in the hye plaine way, walketh safely.

Bethsabe sueth to Dauid for Salomon.

Upon this she went and brake the matter to Dauid, and desired

desired him to shew who should raigne after him in Hierusalem, adding that if Adonias were king, she and her sonne after his death should be destroyed, saying: *Nos erimus peccatores*. We shall be sinners, we shall be taken for traytors, for though we ment no harme, but walked vprightly, yet because we went not the byway with him, he being in authoritie will destroy vs. And by and by commeth in Nathan, and taketh her tale by the end, and sheweth him how Adonias was saluted king, and that he had bid to dinner the kinges seruantes, all sauing him and Sadoc, and Banaiah and all his brethren the kinges sonnes saue Salomon.

King Dauid remembring him self, swore, as sure as God liueth, Salomon my sonne shall raigne after me, and by and by commaunded Nathan and Sadoc and his garde the Cerites and Phelites, to take Salomon his sonne and set him vpon his mule, and annoint him king. And so they did, crying: *Viuat Salomon Rex*. Thus was Salomon throned, by the aduise and will of his father, and though he were a childe, yet was his will to be obeyed and fulfilled, and they ought to haue knowen his pleasure.

The ioye of the people for their new king.

Whilest this was a doing, there was such a ioye and outcry of the people, for their new king, and blowing of trompettes, that Ioab and the other company being in their iolitie, and keeping good cheare, heard it, and sodainly asked, what is this adoe? And whē they perceaued, that Salomon, by the aduise of his father, was annointed king, by and by there was all whisht, all their good cheare was done, and all that were with Adonias, went away, and let him raigne alone, if he would: And why? He walked a byway and God would not prosper it.

God is against vniuate authoritie and inordinate doinges.

God will not worke with vniuate authoritie, nor with any thing done inordinately. When Adonias sawe this that he was left alone, he toke sanctuary, and helde by the hornes of the altar, and sware that he would not depart thence, till Salomon would sweare that he should not lese his life. Here is to be noted the notable sentence, and great mercy of king Salomon.

Let him (sayth he) order him selfe like a quiet man, and there shall not one heere fall from his head: *Sed si inuentum fuerit malum in eo.* But if there shall be any euill found in him, if he hath gone about any mischiefe, he shall dye for it. Upon this he was brought into Salomon, and as the booke sayth, he did homage vnto him: And Salomon sayd to him. *Vade in domum tuam:* Get thee into thy house: belike he ment to warde, and there to see his wearing, as if he should say, shew thy selfe without gall of ambition, to be a quiet subiect, and I will pardon thee for this time. But I will see the wearing of thee. Here we may see the wonderfull great mercy of Salomon for this notorious treason, that Adonias had committed, it was a plaine matter, for he suffred him selfe to be called king, it hung not of vehement suspition or coniecture, nor sequell or consequent, yet notwithstanding Salomon for that present, forgaue him, saying: I will not forget it vtterly, but I will keepe it in suspence, I will take no aduauntage of thee at this time. This Adonias and Absolon were brethren, and came both of a straunge mother, and Absolon likewise was a traytour and made an insurrection against his father. Beware therefore these mothers, and let kinges take heede how they marry, in what houses, in what sayth. For straunge bringing vp bringeth straunge maners. Now geueth Dauid an exhortation to Salomon, and teacheth him the dutie of a king, and geueth him a lesson, as it followeth at large in the booke, and he that list to read it, may see it there at full. But what doth Adonias all this while? He must yet clime againe, the gall of ambition was not out of his hart. He will now marry Abisaak the young Nuéne that warmed king Dauids bosome, as I tolde you, and commeth me to Bethsabe, desiring her to be a meane to Salomon her sonne that he might obtaine his purpose. And bringeth me out a couple of lyes at a clappe, and committeth me two vnlawfull actes. For first he would haue bene king without his fathers consent, and now he will marry his fathers wife, and the two lyes are these. First, sayd he to Bethsabe, thou knowest that the kingdome belongeth to me, for I am the elder.

Salomon is merciful.

Time tryeth traitors from the trusty.

Note of what force education is.

Adonias shrinkes in the sweeting and proueth nought in the wearing.

Adonias a lier.

The

The kingdome was mine. He lyed falsely it was none of his. Then sayd he, all the eyes of Israell were cast vpon me, that is to say: all Israell consented to it: and there he lyed falsely. For Nathan, Sadoc, and other wise men, neuer agréed to it. Here was a great enterprise of Adonias: he will be climing still. Well, Bethsabe went at his request to her sonne Salomon, and asked aboune, and he graũted her what soeuer she did aske. Notwithstanding he brake his promise afterward and that right well, for all promisses are not to be kept, specially if they be against the worde of God, or not standing with a common profit. And therefore, as soone as Salomon heard that Adonias would haue maried the young Quéene Abisaak: nay then let him be king to, sayd he. I perceaue now that he is a naughtie man, a proud harted fellow, the gall of ambition is not yet out of his hart, and so cõmaunded him to be put to death. Thus was Adonias put to execution, where as if he had kept his house, and not broken his iniunction, he might haue liued still. Abiathar, what became of him? The king (because he had serued his father before him) would not put him to death, but made him as it were a quondam. Because thou hast bene with my father (sayd he) and diddest cary the Arke before him, I will not kill thée. But I will promise thée, thou shalt neuer minister any more. *Vade in agrum tuum*: Get thée to thy land, and liue there. A great matter of pitie and compassion: to God graunt vs all such mercy. And here was the end of Elies stocke, according to the promise and threatning of God. As for the Phelethites we doe not read that they were punished. Mary, Semei transgressed his iniunction: for he kept not his house, but went out of Hierusalem to seeke two seruauntes of his, that had runne from him: and when it came to Salomons eare, it cost him his life. I haue ript the matter now to the pill, and haue tolde you of plaine walkers, and of bywalkers, and how a king in his childhode is a king, as well as in any other age. We read in Scripture of such as were but .v. or .vij. yeares olde, and yet the worde of the holy Ghost called them kinges, saying: *Cœpit regnare*: He began

When promises may not be performed.

Adonias put to death. 3. King. 2.

Abiathar deposed and made a quondam. 3. King. 2.

Josias was but seuen yeares olde when he was made king. 4. King. 12.

Josias was viij. 4. King. 22.

to raigne, or he began to be king. Here is of bywalkers. This history would be remembred, the proverbe is: *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*: Happie is he that can beware by an other mans ieoperdie. For if we offend not as other doe, it is not our owne desertes. If we fall not, it is Gods preseruation. We are all offenders. For either we may do, or haue done, or shall doe (except God preserue vs) as euill as the worst of them. I pray God we may all amend and repent. But we will all amend now I trust. We must nedes amend our liues euery man. The holy Communion is at hand, and we may not receaue it vnworthely.

Kinges, though they be children yet they are kinges.

Well, to returne to my history. King Dauid (I say) was a king in his second childhode. And so, young kinges though they be children, yet are they kinges notwithstanding, and though it be written in Scripture: *Ve tibi O terra vbi puer est Rex*: Woe to thee, O Land, where the king is a childe. It followeth in an other place: *Beata terra vbi Rex nobilis*: Blessed is the land, where there is a noble king. Where kinges be no banketters, no players, and where they spend not their time in hauking and hunting. And when had the Kinges Maiestie a Counsell that toke more paine both night and day for the setting forth of Gods worde, and profite of the common wealth? And yet there be some wicked people that will say: Tushe, this geare will not tary, it is but my Lord Protectors, and my Lord of Cãterburies doing: The king is a childe, and he knoweth not of it. Jesu mercy, how like are we English men to the Jewes, euer stubburne, stifnecked, and walking in byewayes. Yea, I thinke no Jew would at any time say: This geare will not tary. I neuer heard nor read at any time that they sayd: These lawes were made in such a kinges dayes, when he was but a childe. Let vs alter them. O Lorde what pitie is this, that we should be worse then the Jewes?

The kings honourable Counsell worthely cõmended.

The common saying of the Popishe hope dayes.

Englishe men worse then the Jewes.

Blessed be the land (sayth the worde of God) where the king is noble. What people are they that say, the king is but a childe? Haue not we a noble king? Was there euer king so noble, so godly, brought vp with so noble Counsellors,

so

so excellent and well learned Scholemaisters? I will tell you this, and I speake it euen as I thinke. His maiesty hath more godly wit and vnderstanding, more learning and knowledge at this age, then xx. of his progenitors that I could name, had at any time of their life.

A true & hartye report of M. Latimer by the kings maiestie.

I tolde you in my last sermon of ministers, of the kinges people, and had occasion to shewe you, how fewe noble men were good preachers: and I left out an history then which I will now tell you.

The history of a B. of Winchester in K. Henry the vi. time.

There was a bishop of Winchester in king Henry the vi. dayes, which king was but a childe, and yet were there many good actes made in his childhod, and I do not read, that they were broken. This Bishop was a great man borne, and did beare such a stroke, that he was able to shoulder the Lorde Protectour. Well, it chaunced that the Lorde Protector and he fell out, and the Bishop would beare nothing at all with him, but played me the *Satrapa*: so that the Regente of Fraunce was fayne to be sente for, from beyonde the seas, to sette them at one, and to goe betweene them: For the Bishop was as able, and ready to buckle with the Lorde Protectour, as he was with him.

Was not this a good prelate? He shoulde haue bene at home a preaching in his Dioces with a wanant. This Protector was so noble and godly a man, that he was called of euery man the good Duke Humfrey. He kept such a house, as neuer was since kept in Englande, without any inhaunsing of rentes, I warrant you, or any such matter. And the Bishop for standing so stiffely by the matter, and bearing vp the order of our mother the holy church, was made Cardinall at Callice, and thither the Bishop of Rome sente him a Cardinals hatte. He shoulde haue had a tyburne tippet, a halpeny halter, and all such proud prelates. These Romish hattes neuer brought good into England.

The good duke Humfrey

A tyburne tippet would a become him better

Vppon this the Bishop goeth me to the Queene Katherin the kinges wife, a proud woman and a stout, and perswaded her, that if the Duke were in such authoritie still, & liued, the people woulde honour him, more then they did the kyng.

And the king ſhould not be ſet by, and ſo betwene them, I can not tell how, it came to paſſe, but at Sente Edmunſbury in a parlament, the good Duke Yumfrey was ſmothered.

Duke Yumfrey ſmothered.

But now to returne to my text, and to make further rehearſall of the ſame, the matter beginneth thus. *Et poſtquam ſederit Rex.* And when the kyng is ſette in the ſeate of hys kyngdome. What ſhall he do? Shall he daunce, and dally? banket, hauke, and hunte? No forſoth ſyr: For as God ſet an order in the kings ſtable, as I told you in my laſt ſermon: ſo will he appoynt what paſtime a king ſhall haue. What muſt he do then? He muſt be a ſtudent. He muſt write Gods booke him ſelfe. Not thinking becauſe he is a king, he hath licence to do what he wil, as theſe worldly flatterers are wont to ſay. Yea, trouble not your ſelfe ſir, ye may hauke and hunt, and take your pleaſure. As for the guiding of your kingdome and people, let vs alone with it.

The office of a king newly choſen.

Flattering claw backs. A kinges paſtime.

Theſe flattering clawbackes are originall rotes of all miſchiefe, and yet a king may take hys paſtime in hawking or hunting, or ſuch lyke pleaſures. But he muſt vſe them for recreation, when he is weery of waighty affayres, that he may returne to them the more luſtye: and thys is called paſtime with good company. He muſt write out a booke him ſelfe. He ſpeaketh of writing, becauſe printing was not vſed at that time. And ſhall the king write it out him ſelfe? He meaneth, he ſhall ſee it written, and rather then he ſhould be wythout it, write it him ſelfe. Jeſus-mercy, is God ſo charie with a king, to haue him well brought vp, and inſtructed? Yea forſoth: For if the kyng be well ordered, the realme is well ordered. Where ſhall we haue a copie of this booke? Of the Leuites. And why? Becauſe it ſhall be a true copie, not falſified. Moyſes left the booke in an olde cheſte, and the Leuites had it in keeping. And becauſe there ſhoulde be no error, no addition, nor taking away from it, he biddeth hym fetch the copie of the Leuites. And was not here a greate miracle of God, how thys booke was preſerued? It had layne hid many yeares, and the Jewes knewe not of it. Therefore at length, when they had found it, and knew it: They lamen-

The king muſt write the booke of Deuteronomy himſelfe. Deut. 18.

ted

ted for their ignorannce that had so long bene without it, and rent theyr clothes, repenting theyr vnfaythfulnes. And the holye Bible Gods booke, that we haue amongest vs, it hath bene preserued hitherto by a wonderful miracle of God, though the keepers of it were neuer so malicious. Fyrst euer sith the Byshop of Rome was fyrst in auctoritie, they haue gone aboute to destroye it, but God worketh wonderfully, he hath preserued it mauger theyr hartes, and yet are we vnthanckfull that we can not consider it. I wyll tell you what a Byshop of this realme sayde once to me, he sente for me, and marueyled that I woulde not consente to such traditions, as were then sette out. And I aunswered him, that I would be ruled by Gods booke, and rather then I woulde dissent one iote from it, I would be torne with wilde horses. And I chaunced in our communication, to name the Lordes supper. Tush sayth the Byshop What do ye call the Lordes supper? What new terme is that? There stood by him a dubber, one doctour Dubber, he dubbed him by and by, and sayde, that this terme was seldome read in the doctoures. And I made aunswere, that I would rather follow Paule in vsing hys termes, then them, though they had all the doctoures on theyr syde. Why (sayde the Byshop) can we not without Scriptures order the people? How did they before the scripture was first written and copyed out? But God knoweth, full ill yet would they haue ordered them. For seeing that hauing it, they haue deceyued vs, in what case shoulde we haue bene now without it? But thankes be to God, that by so wonderful a miracle he hath preserued the booke still.

Gods booke hath bene preserued hitherto, by a wonderful miracle.

Worke a learned prelate.

S. Paules termes ought to be followed.

A byshop that asked whether the people might not be ordered without scriptures.

It followeth in the text: *Habebit secum. &c.* He shall haue it with him, in hys progresse, he must haue a man to carrye it, that when he is hauking and huntyng, or in any pastime, he may alwayes commune with them of it. He shall read in it, not once a yeare, for a time, or for his recreation when he is weery of haukyng or huntyng, but *Cunctis diebus vitæ suæ.* All the dayes of his life. Where are these worldlings now? these blodder puffed vp wilye men? Woe worth them that euer they were about any king. But how shall he read thys

The bible must not be forgotten in time of progresse and pastime.

How homely they handle the godly homilies.

booke, as the Homilies are read? Some call them homlies, and in deed so they may be well called, for they are homelie handled. For though the priest read them neuer so well, yet if the parish like them not, there is such talking and babling in the church that nothing can be heard: And if the parishe be good, and the priest naught, he will so hacke it, and choppe it, that it were as good for them to be without it, for any worde that shall be vnderstand. And yet (the more pitie) this is suffred of your graces byshops in theyr dioces vnpunished. But I will be a suter to your grace, that ye wil geue your bishops charge ere they goe home, vppon theyr allegiaunce, to loke better to theyr flocke, and to see your maiesties iniunctions better kept, and send your visitors in theyr tayles. And if they be found negligent, or faulty in theyr duties, out with them. I require it in Gods behalfe, make them Quondams all the packe of them. But peraduenture ye will say: Where shall we haue any to put in theyr roomes? In deede I were a presumptuous fellow to moue your grace to put them out, if there were not other to put in theyr places. But your maiestie hath diuers of your chapleines, well learned men, and of good knowledge, and yet ye haue some that be bad enough, hangers on of the court, I meane not those. But if your maiesties chaplaynes, and my Lorde Protectours be not able to furnish theyr places, there is in this realme, thanckes be to God, a great sight of lay men, well learned in the scriptures, and of a vertuous and godly conuersation, better learned then a great sight of vs of the cleargy.

A request to the kinges grace.

Negligent bishops.

Hangers of the Court.

Learned laymen to furnishe the roomes of bishops.

I can name a number of them that are able, and would be glad (I dare say) to minister the function, if they be called to it. I moue it of conscience to your Grace, let them be called to it orderly, let them haue institution, and geue them the names of the clergie. I meane not the name onely, but let them do the function of a Byshop, and liue of the same: not as it is in many places, that one should haue the name, and viii. other the profite. For what an enormitie is this in a christen realme to serue in a ciuilitie, hauing the profits of a Prouostship, and a Deanrie, and a Personage? But I

will

will tell you what is like to come of it. It will bring the clergie shortly into a very slauery. I may not forget here my *Scala cœli*, that I spake of, in my last sermon. I will repeate it now agayne, desiring your grace in Gods behalfe, that ye will remember it. The Bishop of Rome had a *Scala cœli*: but hys was a malle matter: But this *Scala cœli*, that I now speake of, is the true ladder that bringeth a man to heauen: the top of the ladder, or first greese is this: Whosoeuer calleth vpon the name of the Lorde shall be saued. The second step: Howe shall they call vppon him, in whome they haue not beleeued? The thyrde stayre is this: How shall they beleeue in him, of whome they neuer heard? The fourth step: How shall they heare without a preacher? Now the nether ende of the ladder is: How shall they preach, except they be sent? This is the foote of the ladder: so that we may go backward now, and vse the schole argument: *A primo ad vltimum*. Take away preaching, take away saluation. But I feare one thing, and it is, least for a safety of a little mony, you will put in chauntrey priestes to saue theyr pensions. But I will tell you, Christe bought soules with his bloud, and will ye sell them for golde or siluer? I woulde not that ye shoulde do wyth Chauntrey Priestes, as ye dyd wyth the Abbottes, when Abbeyes were put downe. For when theyr enormities were fyrste read in the Parliament house, they were so great and abhominable, that there was nothyng, but downe wyth them. But wythin a while after, the same Abbottes were made Bishoppes, as there be some of them yet a liue, to saue and redeeme theyr pensions. O Lorde, thincke yee that God is a fole, and seeeth it not? And if he see it, will he not punishe it? And so nowe for safety of money, I woulde not that you shoulde put in Chauntrey Priestes. I speake not now against such chauntry priestes as are able to preach, but those that are not able, I will not haue them put in, for if ye do this, ye shall aunswer for it.

The clergie is like to be brought into slauery.

The Scala cœli, and his .v. steppes.

The feare is past, for it is done alreadp.

New bishops of old abbottes.

It is in the text, that a king ought to feare God, he shall haue the dread of God before his eyes, worke not by worldly policie: for worldly policie feareth not God. Take heede of

Worldly policy feareth not god

Homelesse or flatterers.

these clawbackes, these venemous people that will come to you, that will follow like Gnatoes and parasites, if you follow them, you are out of your booke. If it be not according to Gods word that they counsayle you, do it not for any worldly policie, for then ye feare not God.

It followeth in the text: *Vt non eleuetur cor eius.* That he be not proud aboue his brethren. A king must not be proud, for God might haue made him a shepherd, when he made him a king, and done him no wrong. There be many examples of proud kinges in scripture: as Pharao, that would not heare the message of God. Herode also that put John Baptist to death, and would not heare him, he told him, that it was not lawful for him to mary his brothers wife. Jeroboam also was a proude king. An other king there was that worshipped straunge Goddes and Idols of those men, whome he had ouercome before in battayle: And when a Prophet told him of it: What? (sayd he) who made you one of my counsell? These were proud kinges, they? examples are not to be followed.

Pharao. Exod. vij. viij.

Jeroboam. 3. Reg. 12.

But wherefore shall a king feare God, and turne neither to the right hand nor to the lefte? Wherefore shall he do all this? *Vt longo tempore regnet ipse, et filij eius.* That he may raigne long time, he and his children. Remember this I beseech your grace. And when these flatterers & flibbergibbes an other day shall come, and clawe you by the backe, and say: Sir trouble not your selfe. What should you study? Why should you do this, or that? Your grace may aunswere them thus, and say: What sirra? I perceiue you are wery of vs, and our posteritie. Doth not God say in such a place, that a kyng should write out a booke of Gods law, and read it? Learne to feare God. And why? That he, and his might raigne long. I perceiue now thou art a traytour.

Much an aunswere would cut his combe.

Tell him this tale once, and I warrant you he will come no more to you, neither he, nor any after such a sorte.

I charme to chase away clawbackes.

And thus shall your grace driue these flatterers and clawebackes away. And I am afrayed I haue troubled you to long.

Therefore I will furnishe the texte with an history, or

two

two, and then I will leaue you to God. You haue heard how a king ought to passe the time. He must read the booke of God, and it is not enough for him to read, but he must be acquaynted with all Scripture, he must study, and he must pray: And how shall he do both these.

He may learne at Salomon, God spake vnto Salomon, when he was made a king, and bad him aske of him what he would, and he shoulde haue it. Make thy petition, sayd God, and thou shalt obtayne. Nowe marke Salomons prayer: *Domine, O Domine Deus.* (sayd he) O Lorde God, it is thou that hast caused me to raigne, and hast sette me in my fathers seate: for thou God onely doest make kinges. Thus shoulde kinges prayse God, and thancke God, as Salomon did. But what was his petition? Lorde (sayd he) *Da mihi cor docile.* He asked a docible hart, a wyse hart, and wisedome to goe in, and to goe out: that is, to beginne all mine affayres well, and to bring them to good effecte and purpose, that I may learne to guide and gouerne my people. When he had made his petition, it pleased God well, that Salomon asked wisedome, and neyther riches nor long lyfe, and therefore God made him this answer. Because thou hast chosen wisdome aboue all thinges, I will gene it thee, and thou shalt be the wysest kyng that euer was before thee. And so he was and the wysest in all kyndes of knowledge, that euer was syth. And thoughe he did not aske rychesse, yet God gaue hym both rychesse and honoure, more then euer any of hys auncestors had. So your grace must learne how to do, of Salomon: Ye must make your petition, now studie, now pray. They must be yoked together, and this is called passtime with good company.

3. Reg. 3. 2. Chro. 1. b.

Salomon is a president of prayer for kinges.

Salomō asketh wisedome.

Study and prayer must be coupled together.

Now when God had genen Salomon wisedome, he sent hym by and by occasion to occupie his witte. For God gaue neuer a gyfte, but he sente occasion at one time, or an other to shewe it to Gods glory. As if he sente richesse, he sendeth poore men to be helped wyth it. But nowe must men occupye theyr goodes otherwise. They will not loke on the poore, they must helpe theyr children, and purchase them

God ministreth occasion to vse his giftes.

more

more lande then euer theyr graundfathers had before them. But I ſhall tell you what Chriſt ſayd: He that loueth hys childe better then me, is not worthy to be my diſciple. I can not ſée how ye ſhall ſtande before God at the latter day, when this ſentence ſhall be layd againſt you.

3. Reg. 3. But to returne to my purpoſe, there were two poore women came before Salomon to complayne. They were two harlottes, and dwelled together in one houſe, and it chaunced within two dayes they childed both. The one of theſe women by chaunce in the night, had killed her childe, and roſe priuily and went to the other woman, and toke her liue childe away, & left her dead child in his place. Upõ that they came both before Salomon to haue the matter iudged, whoſe the childe was. And the one ſayd: It is my childe. Nay, ſayth the other, It is mine. So there was yea and nay betwene them, and they held vp the matter with ſkolding after a womanlyke faſhion. At the length Salomon repeated theyr tale as a good iudge ought to do, and ſayd to the one woman. Thou ſayeſt the childe is thine. Yea, ſayd ſhe. And thou ſayeſt, it is thine, to the other. Well, fetch me a ſweard (ſayde he.) For there was no waye nowe to trye, whiche was the true mother, but by naturall inclination. And ſo he ſayde to one of hys ſeruauntes: Fetch me a ſweard, and deuide the childe betwéne them. When the mother of the childe that accuſed the other heard him ſay ſo. Nay for Gods ſake (ſayd ſhe) let her haue the whole childe, and kill it not. Nay, quod the other, neyther thyne nor myne, but let it be deuided. Then ſayde Salomon, Geue thys woman the chylde, thys is the mother of the chylde. What came of thys? *Audiunt omnis Iſrael.* When all Iſraell heard of thys iudgemente, they feared the kyng. It is wiſedome and godly knowledge that cauſeth a king to be feared. One woorde note here for Gods ſake and I will trouble you no longer. Would Salomon, beyng ſo noble a kyng beare two poore women? They were poore, for as the Scripture ſayth: They were together alone in a houſe, they had not ſo much as one ſeruaunt betwéne them both, Wouldye kyng Salomon, I ſay, heare them in hys owne

The complaint of two harlots, to Salomon.

Wiſdome cauſeth a king to be feared.

owne person? Yea forsoth. And yet I heare of many matters before my Lorde Protector, and my Lorde Chauncellor that can not be heard. I must desire my Lorde Protectors grace to heare me in this matter, that your grace would heare poore mens sutes your selfe. Put them to none other to heare, let them not be delayed. The saying is now, that money is heard euery where, if he be riche, he shall sone haue an end of his matter. Other are faine to goe home with weeping teares, for any helpe they can obteine at any Iudges hand. Heare mens sutes your selfe, I require you in Gods behalfe, and put it not to the hearing of these Ueluet coates, these vpskippis. Now a man can scarse know them from an auncient knight of the countrey. I can not goe to my booke for poore folkes come vnto me, desiring me that I will speake that their matters may be heard. I trouble my Lord of Canterbury, and being at his house now & then I walke in the garden loking in my booke, as I can doe but little good at it. But something I must needes doe to satisfie this place. I am no sooner in the garden and haue read a while, but by and by commeth there some one or other knocking at the gate. Anone commeth my man and sayth: Syr, there is one at the gate would speake with you. When I come there, then is it some one or other that desireth me that I will speake that his matter might be heard, and that he hath layne this long at great costes and charges, and can not once haue his matter come to the hearing, but among all other, one specially moued me at this time to speake. This it is sir.

A request to the Lord Protector.

Ueluet coates and vpskippes.

M. Latimer troubled with poore mens sutes.

A gentlewoman came to me and tolde me, that a great man keepeth certaine landes of hers from her, and will be her tenaunt in the spite of her teeth. And that in a whole twelue moneth, she could not gette but one day for the hearing of her matter, and the same day when the matter should be heard, the great man brought on his side a great sight of Lawyers for his counsell, the gentlewoman had but one mã of Law: and the great man shakes him so, that he can not tell what to doe, so that when the matter came to the point, the Iudge was a meane to the gentlewoman, that she would let the

The gentlewomans complaint.

Lawyers are like Dowcheners that serue wher they haue most money.

the great man haue a quietneſſe in her land. I beſeech your grace that ye will loke to theſe matters. Heare them your ſelfe. Ye we your iudges. And heare poꝛe mens cauſes. And you pꝛoud iudges harken what God ſayth in his holy booke: *Audite illos, ita paruum vt magnum:* Heare them (ſayth he) the ſmall as well as the great, the poꝛe as well as the riche. Regard no perſon, feare no man. Why? *Quia domini iudicium eſt:* The iudgemente is Gods. Marke this ſaying, thou pꝛoud iudge. The Deuill will bꝛing this ſentence at the day of Dome. Hell will be full of theſe iudges, if they repent not and amende. They are woꝛſſe then the wicked iudge that Chꝛiſt ſpeaketh of, that neither feared God, noꝛ the woꝛld. Luk. xviij.

There was a certaine widowe that was a ſuter to a iudge, and ſhe mette him in euery coꝛner of the ſtꝛéete, cꝛying: I pꝛay you heare me, I beſeech you heare me, I aſke nothing but right. When the iudge ſawe her ſo impoꝛtunate, though I feare neither God, ſayth he, noꝛ the woꝛld, yet becauſe of her impoꝛtunateneſſe, I will graunt her requeſt. But our iudges are woꝛſſe then this iudge was. Foꝛ they will neither heare men foꝛ Gods ſake, noꝛ feare of the woꝛlde, noꝛ impoꝛtunateneſſe, noꝛ any thing els. Yea ſome of them will commaund them to warde, if they be impoꝛtunate. Except beſoꝛe, except, that is to ſay, except it be foꝛ money.

I heard ſay, that whē a ſuter came to one of them, he ſaid: What fellowe is it that geueth theſe folke counſell to be ſo impoꝛtunate? he would be puniſhed and committed to ward. Mary ſir, puniſhe me then, it is euen I that geue them counſell, I would gladly be puniſhed in ſuch a cauſe. And if ye amend not, I will cauſe them to cꝛye out vpon you ſtill: euen as long as I liue. I will do it in deede: but I haue troubled you long. As I began with this ſentence: *Quecunque ſcripta ſunt. &c.* So will I end now with this text. *Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei, & cuſtodiunt illud:* Bleſſed are they that heare the woꝛde of God and keꝛpeth it. There was an other ſute, and I had almoſt foꝛgotten it.

There is a poꝛe woman that lyeth in the Fléete, and can

not

not come (by any meanes that she can make) to her answere, and would faine be baild, offering to put in suerties worth a thousand pound, and yet she can not be heard. We thinke this is a reasonable cause, it is great pitie that such thinges should so be. I beseech God, that he will graunt that all that is amisse may be amended, that we may heare his worde and keepe it, that we may come to the eternall blisse, to the which blisse I beseech God to bring both you and me. Amen.

The poore widow lying in the Fleete.

The third Sermon of M. Hugh Latimer, preached before K. Edward. March. 22.

QVÆCVNQVE *scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.* All thinges that are written, are written to be our doctrine. All thinges that be written in Gods holy booke, the Bible, were written to be our doctrine long before our time, to serue frō time to time, and so forth to the worldes end.

Ye shall haue in remembraunce, most benigne and gracious audience, that a preacher hath two offices, & the one to be vsed orderly after an other. The first is, *Exhortari per sanam doctrinā*. To teach true doctrine. He shall haue alwayes occasion oftentimes to vse an other, & that is, *Contradicentes cōuincere*. To reprehend, to conuince, to confute gainsayers and spurners against the truth. Why? you will say, will any body gainsay true doctrine, and sound doctrine? Well, let a preacher be sure, that his doctrine be true, and it is not to be thought, that any body will gainsay it. If S. Paule had not foreseene that there should be gainsayers, he had not neede to haue appointed the confutation of gainsaying. Was there euer

A preacher hath two offices.

j. To teach true doctrine.

ij. To confute gainsayers and spurners against the truth.

Preachers haue euer had gainsayers.

euer yet preachers, but there were gainsayers, that spurned, that winst, that whimpered against him, that blasphemed, that gaynsayed it? When Moyses came to Egypt with sound doctrine, he had Pharao to gainsay him. Jeremie was the minister of the true worde of God, he had gainsayers the Priestes, and the false Prophets. Ely had all Baals priestes supported by Jesabell to speake against him. John Baptist and our Saviour Jesus Christ, had the Pharisees, ỹ Scribes, and the Priestes gainsayers to them. The Apostles had gainsayers also, for it was sayd to S. Paule at Rome: *Notum est nobis quod vbique secta huic contradicitur:* We know that euery man doth gainsay this learning. After the Apostles time the truth was gainsayd with tyrantes, as Nero, Parentius, Domicianus, and such like, and also by the doctrine of wicked heretickes. In the Popishe Masse time, there was no gainsaying, all thinges seemed to be in peace, in a concord, in a quiet agreement. So long as we had in Adoration, in admiration, the Popishe Masse, we were then without gainsaying. What was that? The same that Christ speaketh of. *Cum fortis armatus custodierit atrium. &c:* When Sathan the Deuill hath the guiding of the house, he keepeth all in peace that is in his possession: when Sathan ruleth, and beareth dominion in open religion, as he did with vs when we preached Pardon matters, Purgatory matters, and Pilgrimage matters, all was quiet. He is ware inough, he is wily, and circumspect for stirring vp any sedition. When he keepeth his territory all is in peace. If there were any man that preached in England in times past, in the Popes times (as peraduenture there was two or three) straight wayes he was taken and nipped in the head with the title of an hereticke. When he hath the religion in possession, he sturreth vp no sedition, I warrant you.

Exod. vij. viij. ix. x.

3. Reg. 18. Math. xij. xv. xvi. Act xxviij.

Euseb. de temporib. Histor. Ecclesiastica. Antonius Sabellicus.

We were then at a peace with the deuill, and at debate with God.

The deuill maketh no dissention in Turky.

How many discentions haue we heard of in Turky? But a fewe I warrant you. He busieth him selfe there with no discention. For he hath there dominion in the open religion, and needeth not to trouble him selfe any further. The Jewes like runnagates where soeuer they dwell (for they be

dispersed

disperst, and be tributaries in all contreys where they inhabite) loke whether ye heare of any heresies among theme But when *fortis supervenerit*, when one stronger then the deuill, commeth in place, which is our Sauiour Jesus Christ, and reueleth his word, then the deuill roareth, then he bestirreth him, then he rayseth diuersitie of opinions to slaunder Gods word. And if euer concorde should haue ben in Religion, when should it haue ben but when Christ was here? ye finde fault with preachers, and say, they cause sedition. We are noted to be rash, and vndiscret in our preachyng. Yet as discrete as Christ was there was diuersitie, yea, what he was hym selfe. For when he asked, what men called him. His Apostles aunswered him. Some say, you are John Baptist, some say, you are Helias, and some say, yea are one of the Prophetes, and these were they that spake best of him. For some sayd, he was a Samaritane, that he had a deuill within him, a glosser, a drincker, a pot cõpanion. There was neuer Prophet to be compared to him, and yet there was neuer more dissention then when he was, and preached him selfe. If it were contraryed thē, will ye thinke it shall not be contraried now, when charitie is so cold & iniquitie so stroge Thus these backebyters, and slaunderers must be conuinced. Saint Paule sayd: There shall be *intractabiles*, that will whimpe and whine, there shall be also, *Vaniloqui*, dayne speakers. For the which S. Paul appointeth the preacher to stop their mouths & it is a preachers office to be a mouth stopper.

No heresies amongest the Jewes.

When the deuill bestirreth him and playeth his part.

Preachers are noted to be the cause of seditiõ.

The xvi. of Math. Mark. viii. Luke. ix.

There was neuer so great dissention as whē Christ preached.

ii. Timo. iii.

A preachers office is to be a mouth stopper.

This day I must somewhat do in the second office, I must be agaynesayer, and I must stop their mouthes, conuince, resell, and confute that they speake slaunderously of me.

There be some gaynesayers gainsayers, for there be some slaunderous people, dayne speakers, and *intractabiles*, which I must nedes speake agaynst. But first I will make a short rehearsall to put you in memory of that, that I spake in my last Sermon. And that done, I will confute one that slaundereth me. For one there is that I must nedes aunswere vnto, for he slaundreth me for my preachyng before the kinges maiestie. There be some to blame, that when a preacher is weary, yet they will haue hym speake all at once.

Ye must tary till ye heare more. Ye must not be offended

till ye here the reſt. Here all and then iudge all. What ye are very haſtie, very quicke with your preachers? But before I enter further into this matter I ſhall deſire you to pray. &c.

The Epiloge, or rehearſall of the firſt Sermon.

First of all as touchyng my firſt Sermon, I will runne it ouer *curſorie*, ryppyng a litle the matter. I brought in an hyſtorie of the Bible, exciteyng my audience to beware of by walkinges, to walke ordinatly, plainly, the kynges high way & agrée to that, which ſtandeth with the order of a Realme. I ſhewed you how we were vnder the bleſſing of God, for our kyng is *Nobilis*, I ſhewed you we haue a noble kyng, True inheritour to the crowne with out doubt. I ſhewed furthermore of his godly education. He hath ſuch Scholemaſters as as can not be gotten in all the Realme agayne.

The kynges ſcholemaſters.

Wherefore we may be ſure that God bleſſed this Realme, although he curſed the Realme, whoſe ruler is a child, vnder whom the officers be climyng, and gleynyng, ſcratchyng, and ſcrappyng, and volupteouſly ſet on banketyng and for the maintenaunce of their volupteouſnes, go by walkes. And although he be young he hath as good, and as ſage a counſaile, as euer was in England, which we may well know by their godly proceedynges, and ſettyng forth of the word of God: Therefore let vs not be worſe: then the ſtiffenecked Iewes. In kyng Iosias tyme, (who beyng young did alter, chaunge and correct wonderfully the Religion (it was neuer heard in Iewry that the people reppyned or ſayd, The kyng is a child. This geare will not laſt long. It is but one or two mens dayes. It will not tary but for a tyme.

The counſayle of England haue their condyng and worthy prayſe.

The people did not repine agaynſt king Iosias in hys mynoritie.

The king knoweth it not. Woo worth that euer ſuch men were borne. Take hede leſt for our rebellion God take hys bleſſyng away from vs. I entred into the place of the kynges paſtime. I told you how he muſt paſſe his tyme in readyng the booke of God (for that is the kynges paſtime by Gods appointment) in the whiche booke he ſhall learne to feare God. Oh how carefull God is to ſet in an order all thynges that belong to a kyng in his chamber, in hys ſtable, in hys treaſure houſe.

What is a Princelike paſtyme.

God is carefull for a kynges houſe.

These peuiſh people in this Realme haue nothyng but the kyng, the kyng in their mouthes, when it maketh for their purpoſe. As there was a Doctour that preached, the

kynges

kinges maiesty hath his holy water, he crepeth to the crosse, and then they haue nothing but the king the king in theyr mouthes. These be my good people that must haue theyr mouthes stopt, but if a man tell them of the kinges procedinges, now they haue theyr shifts, and theyr put offs saying, we may not go before a law, we may breake no order. These be the wicked preachers, their mouthes must be stopt, these be the gaynsayers. An other thing there is that I told you of *Ne eleuetur cor regis. &c.* The king must not be proude ouer his brethren. He must order his people with brotherly loue and charitie. Here I brought in examples of proude kinges. It is a great pride in kinges and maiestrates whē they will not heare, nor be conformable to the sound doctrine of God. It is an other kinde of pride in kinges when they thinke them selues so high, so lofty, that they disdayne and thinke it not for their honour to heare powre mens causes them selues. They haue clawbackes that say vnto them. What sir? what nede you to trouble your selfe? take you your pleasure, hunt, hauke, daunce, and dally, let vs alone: we will gouerne and order the commune weale matters well inough. Who worth them, they haue bene the rote of all mischiefe and destruction in this realme. A king ought not only for to reade and study, but also to pray. Let him borrow example at Salomō, who pleased God highly with his petition, desiring no worldly thinges, but wisedome, which God dyd not onely graunt hym, but because he asked wisedome, he gaue him many mo thinges. As riches, honour and such like. Oh how it pleased God that he asked wisedome? And after he had genē him this wisedome he sent him also occasion to vse ẏ same by a couple of strumpets. Here I tolde an example of a meeke king, who, so continued, vntill he came into the company of straunge women. He heard them not by meanes, or by any other, but in his owne person, and I thinke verely the naturall mother had neuer had her owne childe, if he had not herd the cause himselfe. They were *Meretrices*. What hores although some excuse the matter, & say they were but tipplers, such as keepe alehouses. But it is but folly to excuse thē, seing the Iewes were such, and not vnlike, but they had their stewes and the mayntenaunce of whordome, as they had of other vices.

The king is in euery mans mouth when it makes for their purpose.

Gayn for shiftes and put offes.

A kyng must not be proude.

Three kyndes of pride of a kyng.

Kynges haue clawe backes & docter picke mote and hys fellow.

Clawbackes counsell.

A kyng must pray as well as rede.

Salomō prayed for wisdom.

Salomō heard the causes and complaintes of his people.

M. Latimers requeſt to the Lordes for the abolithment of ſo horrible.

One thing I muſt here deſire you to reforme my Lordes, you haue put downe the ſtewes. But I pray you what is the matter amended? what auayleth that ye haue but chaunged the place, and not taken the whordome away. God ſhould be honored euerywhere. For the ſcripture ſayth. *Domini eſt terra et plenitudo eius*. The earth and the land is the Lordes. What place ſhoulde be then within a chriſtian realme left for to diſhonour God. I muſt nedes ſhew you ſuche newes as I here. For thoughe I ſee it not my ſelfe, notwithſtanding it commeth faſter to me then I wold wiſh. I do as Saint Paul doth to the Corinthians. *Auditur inter vos ſtuprum*. There is ſuch a whoredome among you as is not among the Gentiles. So likewiſe. *Auditur*. I here ſay that there is ſuche whordome in England as neuer was ſéene the like. Ye charged all the Corinthians for one mans offence ſaying. They were al guilty for one mans ſinne, if they woulde not correct and redreſſe it, but wincke at it. Lo, here may you ſée how that one mans ſinnne poluted all Corinth. A little leauen as Saint Paul ſayth, corrupteth a great deale of dough. Thys is, *Communicare alienis peccatis*, to be partaker of other mens ſinnes. I aduertiſe you in Goddes name loke to it. I here ſay, there is now more whordome in London, then euer there was on the bancke. Theſe be the newes I haue to tell you. I feare they be true. Ye ought to heare of it, and redreſſe it. I here of it, and as Saynt Paul ſayth. *Aliqua ex parte credo*. There is more open whoredome more ſtued whordome then euer was before. For Gods ſake let it be loked vpon. It is your office to ſée vnto it. Now to my confutacion.

All the Corinthians charged for one mans ſinne.

More whordom in London then euer there was on the banke.

There is a certayne man that ſhortly after my firſt ſermon, being aſked if he had bene at the ſermon that day, anſwered yea: I pray you ſayd he how lyked you hym? mary ſayd he euen as I lyked hym alwayes, a ſedicious fellow. Oh Lord he pinched me there in dede. May he had rather a full bit at me. Yet I comfort my ſelfe with that, that Chriſt himſelfe was noted to be a ſturrer vp of the people agaynſt the Emperour, and was contented to be called ſeditious. If he commeth me to take it in good worth, I am not better then he was. In the kynges dayes that dead is, a meany of

Mone that reported M. Latimer to be a ſedicious fellow. Chriſt was noted for a ſedicious ſtirrer of the people.

vs were called together before hym to say our mindes in certaine matters. In the end, one kneeleth me downe, and accuseth me of sedition, that I had preached seditious doctrine. A heauy salutation, and a hard point of such a mans doyng, as if I should name hym, ye would not thinke it. The kyng turned to me and sayd. What say you to that Syr? Then I kneeled downe, and turned me first to myne accuser, and required hym. Syr what forme of preachyng would you appoint me to preach before a kyng? Would you haue me for to preach nothyng as concernyng a kyng, in the kinges Sermons? Haue you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach? Besides this, I asked hym diuers other questions, and he would make no answere to none of them all. He had nothyng to say. Then I turned me to the kyng, and submitted my selfe to his grace and sayd, I neuer thought my selfe worthy, nor I neuer sued to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willyng (if you mislike me) to geue place to my betters. For I graunt there be a great many more worthy of the roume then I am. And if it be your graces pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to beare their bookes after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your grace to geue me leaue to discharge my conscience. Geue me leaue to frame my doctrine according to mine audience. I had bene a very dolt to haue preached so, at the borders of your Realme, as I preach before your grace. And I thanke almightie God, which hath alwayes bene my remedy, that my sayinges were well accepted of the kyng, for lyke a gratious Lord he turned into an other communication, it is euen as the Scripture sayth. *Cor Regis in manu Domini*, the Lord directeth the kyngs hart. Certaine of my frendes came to me with teares in their eyes, and told me, they loked I should haue bene in the Tower the same night. Thus haue I euer more bene burdened with the word of sedition. I haue offended God greuously, transgressing his law, and but for this remedy and his mercy, I would not loke to be saued. As for sedition, for ought that I know, me thinkes, I should not néede Christ, if I might so say. But if I be cleare in any thyng, I am cleare in this. So farre as I know myne owne

How M. Latimer was accused to kyng Henry the viii.

hys answere to the kyng.

A preacher must haue respect to ỹ place and to the persons.

f.iij. hart

M. Latymer was euer voyd of sedition.

hart, there is no man further from seditton then I, which I haue declared in all my doynges, and yet it hath bene euer layd to me. An other tyme, when I gaue ouer myne office, I should haue receiued a certaine dutie that they call a Pentecostall, it came to the summe of fiftie and fiue pound, I set my commissary to gather it, but he could not be suffered. For it was sayd a sedition should rise vpon it.

Thus they burdened me euer with sedition. So this Gentleman commeth vp now with sedition. And wot ye what? I chaunced in my last Sermon to speake a mery word of the new shilyng (to refreshe my auditorie) how I was lyke to put away my new shilyng for an olde groat, I was herein noted to speake seditiously. Yet I comforte my selfe in one thyng, that I am not alone, and that I haue a fellow. For it is, *Consolatio miserorum*. It is the comfort of the wretched to haue companie. When I was in trouble, it was obiected and sayd vnto me that I was singular, that no man thought as I thought, that I loued a singularitie in all that I dyd, and that I take away, contrary to the kyng, and the whole Parliament, and that I was trauailed with them, that had better wittes then I, that I was contrary to them all. Mary Syr this was sore thunderbolts. I thought it an irksome thyng to be alone, and to haue no fellow. I thought it was possible it might not be true that they tolde me. In the .vij. of Iohn the Priestes sent out certaine of the Iewes to bryng Christ vnto them violently. When they came into the Temple and heard hym preach, they were so moued with hys preachyng, that they returned home agayne, and sayd to them that sent them. *Nunquam sic locutus est homo vt hic homo.* There was neuer man spake like this man. The aunswered the Phariseis: *Num & vos seducti estis?*

Of the new shilling.

M Latimer noted of a singularitie.

What ye brainsicke soles, ye hoddy peckes. Ye hoddy poules, ye huddes, doe ye beleue hym? are you seduced also? *Nunquis ex Principibus credit in eum?* Dyd ye see any great man, or any great officer take his part? do ye see any bodye follow hym, but beggerly fishers, and such as haue nothyng to take to? *Nunquis ex Phariseis?* Do ye see any holy man? any perfect man? any learned man take his part? *Turba quae ignorat legem execrabilis est.* This lay people is accursed, it

A paraphrasticall expositon.

is

is they that know not the law, that takes his part, and none els, Loe here the Pharises had nothyng to choke the people, with all, but ignorannce. They dyd as our Bysshops of England, who vpbrayded the people alwayes with ignorannce where they were the cause of it them selues. There were sayth S. John. *Multi ex principibus qui crediderunt in eum.* Many of the chief men beleued in hym, and that was contrary to the Pharises saying, Oh then by lyke they belyed him, he was not alone. So thought I, there be more of myne opinion then I thought, I was not alone. I haue now gotten one fellow more, a companion of sedition, and wot ye who is my fellow? Esay the Prophet, I spake but of a litle preaty shillyng. But he speaketh to Hierusalem after an other sort and was so bold to meddle with their coine. Thou proude, thou couetous, thou hautie Citie of Hierusalem. *Argentum tuum versum est in scoriam.* Thy siluer is turned into, what into tessions? *Scoriam*, into drosse. Ah seditious wretch, what had he to do with the minte? Why should not he haue left that matter to some maister of policie to reproue? Thy siluer is drosse, it is not fine, it is counterfait, thy siluer is turned, thou haddest good siluer. What pertained that to Esay. Mary he espied a pece of diuinitie in that policie, he threateneth them Gods vengeaunce for it.

The bishops called the people ignoraunt, and they were the cause of it themselues.

M. Latimer hath gotten Esay the Prophet to be hys companion.

Marke well his termes. Esay medled with the coyne of the mynte.

He went to the rote of the matter, whiche was couetousnes. He espyed two pointes in it, that either it came of couetousnes, whiche became hym to reproue, or els that it tended to the hurte of the poore people, for the noughtynes of the siluer was the occasion of dearth of all thynges in the Realme.

Two causes why money in Esayes tyme was more baser and worse.

He imputeth it to them as a great crime. He may be called a maister of sedition in deede. Was not this a seditious harlot to tell them this to their beardes? to their face?

This seditious man goeth also forth, saying: *Vinum tuum mixtum est aqua.* Thy wyne is mingled with water. Here he medeleth with vinteners, be lyke there were bruers in those dayes, as there be now. It had bene good for our millall Priestes to haue dwelled in that countrey, for they might haue bene sure to haue had their wyne well mingled with water. I remember how scrupulous I was in my tyme of

Esay medleth with vintners

M. Latymer was somthyng scrupulous, when hee was a Walle sayer.

blindnes and ignorauncie, when I should say Walle, I haue put in water twise or thrise for sayeyng, in so much when I haue bene at my Memento, I haue had a grudge in my conscience, fearyng that I had not put in water inoughe. And that which is here spoken of wine, he meaneth it of all arts in the Citie, of all kindes of faculties, for they haue all their medles and minglinges. That he speaketh of one thyng, he meaneth generally of all. I must tell you more newes yet.

Esay spoke of one vice but he ment it of moe.

I heare say there is a certain conning come vp in mixing of wares. How say you, were it no wonder to heare that clothmakers should become poticaries. Yea, and as I heare say in such a place, whereas they haue professed the Gospell and the word of God most earnestly of a long tyme. See how busie the Deuill is to slaunder the worde of God: Thus the poore Gospell goeth to wracke. If his clothe be xviij. yeardes long, he will set hym on a racke, and stretche hym out wyth ropes, & racke him till the sinewes shrincke agayne, whiles he hath brought hym to xxvj. yeardes. When they haue brought hym to that perfection, they haue a preaty feate to thicke him againe. He makes me a powder for it, and playes the Poticary, they call it flocke powder they doe so incorporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderfull to consider, truely a godly inuention. Oh that so godly wittes shoulde bee so ill applied, they may well deceiue the people, but they cannot deceyue God. They were wont to make beds of flocks, and it was a good bed to. Now they haue turned their flockes into powder to play the false theeues with it. O wicked diuell: What, can he not inuent to blaspheme Gods worde? These mixtures come of couetousnesse. They are playne theft. Woe worth that these flockes should so slaunder the word of God. As he sayd to the Iewes, the wine is mingled with water, so might he haue sayd to vs of this lande. Thy clothe is mingled with flocke pouder. He goeth yet on.

A preaty kynde of multiplying.

Flocke powder.

These mixtures and multiplyinges are theft.

This seditious man reproueth this honourable city, and sayth: *Principes tui infideles.* Thou lande of Ierusalem, thy magistrates, thy iudges are vnfaithfull, they kepe no touche, they will talke of many gay thinges, they will pretende this and that, but they kepe no promise. They be worse then vnfaythfull, he was not afrayde to call the officers vnfaythfull.

Et socij furum. Fellowes of theeues: for theeues and theeues fellowes, be all of one sort. They were wont to say, Aske my fellow if I be a theefe. He calleth Princes theeues: What? Princes theeues? What a seditious harlot was this? Was he worthy to lyue in a common wealthe that woulde call Princes on this wise, fellowes of theeues? Had they a standing at shoters hill, or Stangate hole to take a purse. Why? did they stand by the high way side? Did they rob? or breake open any mans house or doore? No, no. That is a grosse kind of theeuing. They were princes, they had a princely kinde of theeuing. *Omnes diligunt munera.* They all loue bribes. Briberie is a princelike kynde of theeuing. They will be waged by the riche, either to geue sentence against the poore, or to put of the poore mans causes. This is the noble theft of Princes and of magistrates. They are bribetakers. Now a daies they call them gentle rewardes: let them leaue their coulouryng, and call them by their christian name Bribes. *Omnes diligunt munera.* All the Princes, all the Iudges, all the priestes, all the rulers are bribers. What? were all the magistrates in Ierusalem, all bribe takers, none good? No doubt there were some good.

Esay calleth the Magistrates vnfaithfull and fellowes of theeues.

There are two kynde of theeuinges. Bribery is a kynd of theeuyng.

Bribes haue gotten a new name.

This worde *omnes*, signifieth the most parte, and so there be some good I doubt not in England. But yet we be farre worse then those stifnecked Iewes. For we read of none of them that winsed, nor kicked agaynst Esays preaching, or sayd that he was a seditious fellow. It behoueth the Magistrates to be in credite, and therfore it might seeme that Esay was to blame to speake openly against the magistrates. It is very sure that they that be good, will beare, and not spurne at the preachers, they that be faulty, they must amend, and neither spurne, nor wynse, nor whine. He that findeth himselfe touched or galled, he declareth himselfe not to be vpright. Woe worth these giftes, they subuerte iustice euery where. *Sequuntur retributiones.* They follow bribes. Somwhat was geuen to them before, and they must nedes geue somwhat againe: for giffe gaffe was a good fellow, this giffe gaffe led them cleane from iustice. They follow giftes.

We are worse then the stifnecked Iewes.

So it fareth by a galled horse.

Giffe gaffe was a good fellow.

A good fellow on a tyme bad an other of his frendes to a breakefast, and said: If you wil come, you shall be welcome,

but

A good fellow was bidden to breakefast to a pudding.

but I tel you afore hand, you shal haue but slender fare, one dish and that is all, what is that said he? A pudding and nothing els. Mary said he, you can not please me better, of all meates, that is for myne owne toth, you may draw me round about the towne with a pudding. These bribing maiestrates and iudges follow giftes faster, then the fellow would follow the pudding.

They follow bribes as fast as the fellow did ỹ pudding.

I am content to beare the title of sedition with Esay. Thankes be to God, I am not alone, I am in no singularitie. This same man that layd sedition thus to my charge, was asked an other tyme, whether he were at the Sermon at Paules crosse, he answered that he was there, and beyng asked what newes there. Mary quod he wonderfull newes, we were there cleane absolued, my Mule and all had full absolution, ye may see by this, that he was such a one that roade on a Mule, and that he was a gentleman. In deede his Mule was wiser then he, for I dare saye, the Mule neuer slaundered the preacher. Oh what an vnhappye chaunce had this Mule to cary such an Asse vpon his backe. I was there at the sermon my selfe. In the ende of his Sermon, he gaue a generall absolution, and as farre as I remember these, or suche other lyke wordes, but at the leaste I am sure, this was hys meanyng, as manye as doe knowledge your selues to be sinners, and confesse the same, and stande not in defence of it, and hartelye abhorre it, and will beleue in the death of Christ, and be conformable thereunto, *Ego absoluo vos*, quod he. Now sayeth this gentleman, hys Mule was absolued. The Preacher absolued but suche as were sory, and did repent. Be like then she did repente her stumbling, his mule was wiser then he a great deale. I speak not of worldly wisdoms, for therein he is to wise, yea, he is so wise, that wise men meruayle, how he came truely by the tenth part of that he hath. But in wisdome which consisteth *In rebus dei, in rebus salutis*, in godly matters, and appertaynyng to our saluation, in this wisdome he is as blinde as a beetle. *Tanquam equus & Mulus, in quibus non est intellectus.* Lyke horses and mules, that haue no vnderstandyng. If it were true that the mule repented her of her stumblyng, I thinke she was better absolued then he. I pray God stoppe

A gentleman which said that he & his Mule had full absolution at Paules crosse.

The preachers wordes in his absolution.

The misreporter of M. Latimer, is worldly wise, but in godly matters as blinde as a beetle.

hys

hys mouth, or els to open it to speake better, and more to his glory.

An other man quickened with a worde I spake (as he sayd opprobriously agaynst the nobilitie, that their children did not set forthe Gods worde, but were vnpreachyng prelates) was offended with me. I did not meane so, but that some noble mennes children had set forthe Gods worde, how be it the poore mens sonnes haue done it alwayes for the most parte. Iohannes Alasco was here a great learned man, and as they say, a noble man in his countrey, and is gone his way agayne, if it be for lacke of intertainement, the more pitie.

A charitable wishe.

Tender & dainty cared men of these dayes, had rather commit twenty faults, then heare tell of one.

I would wishe such men as he to be in the realme, for the realme should prosper in receyuing of them. *Qui vos recipit, me recipit*, Who receiueth you, receiueth me (said Christ) & it should be for the kinges honour to receiue them and kepe them. I heard say maister Melancton, that great clarke, shold come hither. I would wishe him, and such as he is, to haue two hundred pound a yeare. The king should neuer want it in his coffers at the yeares ende. There is yet among vs two great learned men, Petrus Martir, and Bernard Ochin, which haue a C. markes a peece. I would the king woulde bestow a thousand pound on that sort.

Poore mens sonnes for the most part haue euer traueled about the setting forth of Gods worde. Iohan. Alasco.

It is honorable for the king to be beneficiall toward the learned. Petrus Martir, and Bernardyn Ochine

Now I will to my place againe. In the latter ende of my sermon, I exhorted iudges to heare the small as well as the great, *Iustè quod iustum est iudicare*. You must not onely doe iustice, but doe it iustly. You must obserue all circumstances. You must geue iustice, and minister iuste iudgements in tyme.

For the delaying of matters of the poore folke, is as sinfull before the face of God as wrong iudgement.

I reherced here a parable of a wicked iudge, which for importunities sake, hard the poore womans cause, &c.

The parable of a wicked iudge

Here is a comfortable place, for all you that cry out & are oppressed. For you haue not a wicked iudge, but a mercifull iudge to call vnto: I am not now so full of foolish pitty, but I can consider well inoughe, that some of you complayne without a cause. They weepe, they wayle, they mourne, I am sure some not without a cause. I did not here reproue

all iudges, and find fault with all. I thinke we haue some as paynfull magistrates, as euer was in England: but I will not sweare they be all so: and they that be not of the best, must be content to be taught, and not disdayne to be reprehended. Dauid sayth. *Erudimini qui iudicatis terram* I referre it to your conscience. *Vos qui iudicatis terram*. Ye that be iudges on the earth, whether ye haue heard poore mens causes with expedition or no: if ye haue not, then *erudimini*, be content to be touched, to be tolde. You widdowes, you Orphanes, you poore people, here is a comfortable place for you. Though these iudges of the world will not heare you, there is one will be contēt with your importunity, he will remeady you, if you come after a right sort vnto him. He say, the iudge doth blame you for your importunity, it is irkesome vnto him. He entred into this parable to teach you to be importune in your petition. *Non defatigari*. Not to be wery. Here he teacheth you, how to come to God in aduersity, & by what meanes, which is by prayer. I do not speake of the merits of Christ: for he sayth: *Ego sum via*, I am the way, *Qui credit in me, habet vitam æternam*. Who so beleueth in me, hath euerlasting life. But when we are come to Christ, what is our way to remeady aduersity, in anguish, in tribulation, in our necessities, in our iniuries? The way is prayer. We are taught by the commaundement of God. *Inuoca me in die tribulationis & ego eripiam te*. Thou widow, thou orphane, thou fatherlesse childe, I speake to thée that hast no friendes to helpe thée, call vpon me in the day of thy tribulation, call vpon me. *Ego eripiam te*. I will plucke thée away, I will deliuer thée, I will take thée away, I will relieue thée, thou shalt haue thy hartes desire.

Some as paynfull magistrates in England as euer was.

A good lesson for such as are Magistrates but none of the best.

How and by what meanes we should resorte to God in aduersitie.

Here is the promise, here is the comfort. *Glorificabis me*. Thanke me, accept me for the author of it, and thanke not this creature or that for it. Here is the iudge of all iudges, come vnto him, and he will heare you. For he sayth: *Quicquid petieritis patrem in nomine meo. &c.* What so euer ye aske my father in my name, shall be geuen you thorough my merites. You miserable people that are wronged in the world, aske of my father in your distresses, but put me afore, lake you come not with bragges of your owne merites, but come

in

in my name, and by my merite. He hath not the property of this stout iudge, he will beare your importunatenesse, he will not be angry at your crying and calling. The Prophet sayth: *Sperauerunt in te patres nostri, & exaudisti illos.* Thou God, thou God, our fathers dyd cry vpon thée, and thou hardest them. Art not thou our God as well as theyrs? There is nothing more pleasaunt to God, then for to put him in remembraunce of hys gonesse shewed vnto our forefathers. It is a pleasaunt thing to tell God of the benefites that he hath done before our time. Go to Moyses, who had the guiding of Gods people, sée how he vsed prayer as an instrument to be deliuered out of aduersity, when he had great rough mountaynes on euery side of him, and before him the red Sea, Pharaos host behynde hym, pearill of death rounde about him. What did he? dispayred he? no. Whether went he? He repayred to God with hys prayer, and sayde nothing. Yet with a great ardency of spirite, he pearsed Goddes eares. Now helpe, or neuer good Lord, no helpe, but in thy hand quod hée.

The ordre of our prayer and asking.

What God would heare of vs and wherin he deliteth.

Though he neuer moued his lippes, yet the scripture sayth: he cryed out, and the Lorde hearde hym, and sayde: *quid clamas ad me?* Why cryest thou out so loude? The people hard him say nothing, and yet God sayd. Why cryest thou out? Straight wayes he stroke the water with his rod, and deuided it, and it stode vp like two walles on eyther side, betwene the which Gods people passed, and the persecutors were drowned. Iosue was in anguishe, & in like distresse at Iericho, that true captayne, that faythfull iudge, no follower of retributions, no bribe taker, he was no money mā, who made hys petition to almighty God to shewe hym the cause of hys wrath toward hym, when hys army was plaged after the taking of Iericho. So he obtayned hys prayer and learned, that for one mans faulte, all the reaste were punished. For Achans couetousnes many a thousand were in agony, & feare of death, who hid hys mony, as he thought from God. But God saw it well inoughe, and broughte it to light. Thys Achan was a bywalker. Well, it came to passe, when Iosua knewe it, straight wayes he purged the army, and toke away *Malum de Israel*, that is, wickednesse from

Moyses vsed prayer as an instrument in aduersity.

God xiiii.

Iosue was in anguish and distresse and prayed.

For Achans couetousnes many a thousand were punished.

from the people. For Josua called him before the people, and sayde, *Da gloriam Deo*, geue prayse to God, tell trouthe man, and forthwith he tolde it. And then he and all hys house suffered deathe. A godlye ensample for all Magystrates to followe. Here was the execution of a true iudge, he was no gift taker, he was no wincker, he was no by walker. Also when the assirians with an innumerable power of men in Josaphates tyme ouerflowed the lande of Israell. Josaphat that good king goeth me strayte to God, and made hys prayer. *Non est in nostra fortitudine*, (sayde he) *huic populo resistere*, it is not in oure strengthe, O Lord, to resiste this people, and after hys prayer God deliuered hym, and at the same time ten thousand were destroyed. So ye miserable people, you must go to God in anguishes, and make your prayer to him.

Josue put Achan to death. Josue. vii.

Paral. xx.

Arme your selues with prayer in your aduersities. Many begin to pray, and sodenly cast away prayer, the deuil putteth such fantasies in theyr heades, as though God could not entend them, or had somwhat els to do.

Many begyn to praye, but few persuere and continue in prayer.

But you must be importune and not weary, nor caste away prayer. Nay you must cast away sinne. God will heare your prayer, albeit, you be sinners, I sende you a iudge that wil be glad to heare you. You that are oppressed, I speake to you. Christ in thys parable dothe paynte the good will of God toward you, O miserable people, he that is not receyued, led hym not dispayre, nor thinke that God hath forsake hym. For God tarieth till he seeth a time, and better can do all thinges for vs, then we our selues can wyshe. There was a wicked iudge. &c. What meaneth it that God boroweth thys parable rather of a wicked Iudge, then of a good? Be like good iudges were rare at that tyme, and trowe ye the deuill hath bene a sleepe euer sence? No, no. Ye is as busye as euer he was. The common manner of a wicked iudge is, neither to feare God nor man. He cõsidereth what a man he is, and therefore he careth not for man, because of his pride. He loketh bye ouer the pore, he will be had in admiration, in adoration. He seemeth to be in a protection. Well, shal he escape? Yo, yo, *est Deus in cælo*. There is a God in heauen, he accepteth no persons, he will punishe them.

Cast away sin, and then pray.

A notable lesso for him whiche prayeth.

The common maner of a wicked iudge.

There

There was a poore woman came to this iudge, and sayd: *Vindica me de aduersario*. Se that myne aduersarie do me no wrong. He would not heare her, but drone her of. She had no money to wage eyther hym, either them that were about hym. Dyd this woman well to be auenged of her aduersaricemay Christian people seeke vengeaunce? The Lord sayth: *Mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam*. When ye reuenge, ye take myne office vppon you. This is to vnderstand of priuate vengeaunce. It is lawfull for Gods flocke to vse meanes to put away wronges, to resorte to iudges, to require to haue sentence geuen of right. Sainte Paule sent to Lisias the tribune, to haue this ordinary remedy, and Christ also sayd. *Si male locutus sum. &c*. If I haue spoken euill rebuke me. Christ here aunswered for hym selfe. Note here my Lordes and maisters what case poore widowes and orphanes be in, I will tell you my Lord Judges, if ye consider this matter well, ye should be more afrayde of the poore widow, then of a noble man withall the frendes and power that he can make.

Whether christian people may seeke to be auenged.

Actes. xxiii.

Math. xxvi.

But now a dayes the Judges be afrayd to heare a poore man agaynst the rich, in so much they will either pronounce agaynst hym, or so drine of the poore mans sute, that he shall not be able to go thorow with it. The greatest man in a Realme can not so hurt a iudge as the poore widow, such a shrewd turne she can do hym. And with what armour I pray you? She can bryng the Judges skinne ouer hys eares, and neuer lay handes vppon hym. And how is that? *Lachrimæ miserorum descendunt ad maxillas*. The teares of the poore fall downe vpon their chekes, *& ascendunt ad cælum*, and go vp to heauen and cry for vengeaunce before God, the iudge of widowes, the father of widowes and orphanes. Poore people be oppressed euen by lawes. *Ve ijs qui condunt leges iniquas*. Wo worth to them that make euill lawes agaynst the poore, what shalbe to them that hynder and marre good lawes? *Quid facietis in die vltionis*. What will ye do in the day of great vengeaunce, when GOD shall visite you? he sayth, he will heare the teares of poore women, when he goeth on visitation. For their sake he will hurt the iudge, be he neuer so high, *Deus transfert regna*. He will for widowes

The maner of our iudges now a dayes in hearyng the poore agaynst the rich.

How God tendreth and regarded the cause of the widow & the poore.

Cambises.

powres sakes chaynge Realmes, bryng them into temptation, plucke the Iudges skinnes ouer their heads. Cambises was a great Emperour, such an other as our master is, he had many Lord Deputies, Lord Presidentes and Lieuetenauntes vnder hym. It is a great while a goe sith I read the history. It chaunced he had vnder hym in one of hys dominiõs a bryber, a gifttaker, a gratifier of rich men, he folowed gifts, as fast as he that folowed the pudding, a handmaker in his office, to make his sonne a great man, as the olde saying is. Happy is the childe, whose father goeth to the deuill. The cry of the powre widdow came to the emperors eare, and caused him to flay the iudge quicke, and laid his skinne in his chayre of iudgement, that all iudges, that should geue iudgement afterward, should sit in the same skin. Surely it was a godly signe, a godly monument, the signe of the iudges skin, I pray God we may once see the signe of the skinne in England. Ye will say peraduenture that this is cruelly & vncharitablely spoken, no, no, I dow it charitably for a loue I beare to my country. God sayth. *Ego visitabo.* I will visite. God hath two visitations. The first is when he reuealeth his word by preachers, & where the first is accepted, the second commeth not. The second visitation is vengeance. Ye went a visitation, when he broughte the iudges skinne ouer his eares. If this word be despised, he commeth with his second visitation w̃ vengance. Noe preached gods word an C. yeres and was laught to skorne, & called an old doting fole, because they would not accept this first visitation, God visited the second time he poured down shours of rain, till all the world was drowned. Loth was a visitor of Sodome & Gomorre, but because they regarded not his preaching, God visited them the second time, and brent them all vp with brimston, sauing Loth. Moses came first a visitation into Egipt with Gods word, and because they would not heare him, God visited them agayne, and drowned them in the redde Sea, God likewise with his firste visitation visited the Israelites by his Prophetes, but because they woulde not heare his Prophetes, he visited them the second time, and dispersed them in Assiria and Babylon. John Baptist likewise and our Sauiour Christ visited them, afterward declaring

In olde soth say, but though the saying be none of the newest I feare me yet it is one of the truest.

The bribing iudge was flayed quicke.

Amen or els I pray God we may haue such incorruptible iudges which will not deserue it.

God hath two visitations.

Noe preached gods word an C. yeares.

Gene vi.

Exod. vii.

to

to them Gods wil: and because they despised these visitours, he destroyed Hierusalem by Titus and Ves[illegible]anus. Germany was visited xx. yeares with Gods wo[illegible], but they dyd not earnestly embrace it, & in life follow it, but made a mingle mangle and a hotchpotch of it.

I can not tell what, partely popery, partely true religion mingled together. They say in my countrey, when they call theyr hogges to the swyne trough. Come to thy mingle mangle come pyr, come pyr, euen so they made mingle mangle of it. They could clatter and prate of the Gospell, but when all commeth to all, they ioyned popery so with it, that they marde all together, they scratched and scraped all the ryuinges of the churche, and vnder a coloure of religion, turned it to theyr owne proper gayne and lucre. God seing that they would not come vnto hys worde, now he visiteth them in the seconde time of hys visitation with hys wrath. For the taking awaye of Goddes worde, is a manifest token of hys wrath. We haue now a first visitation in England, let vs beware of the seconde. We haue the ministration of his worde, we are yet well, but the house is not cleane swept yet. God had sent vs a noble king in thys hys visitation, let vs not prouoke him agaynst vs, let vs beware, let vs not displease him, let vs not be vnthanckfull, and vnkinde, let vs beware of bywalking and contemning of Gods worde, let vs pray diligently for our king, let vs receyue with all obedience and prayer the worde of God. A worde or two more and I commit you to God. I will monishe you of a thing, I heare say ye walke in ordinately, ye talke vnsemely otherwayes then it becommeth Christian subiectes. Ye take vpon you to iudge the iudgementes of Iudges.

Couetousnes cloked vnder a colour of religion.

Godly admonishementes.

I will not make ỹ King a Pope, for the Pope will haue all thinges that he doth, taken for an Article of our fayth.

I will not say but that the King, and his councel may erre, the Parliament houses, both the high and low may erre. I pray dayly that they may not erre.

It becommeth vs what soeuer they decree to stande vnto it, and receyue it obediently, as farre forth as it is not manifest wicked, and directly agaynst the worde of God. It pertayneth vnto vs to thinke the best, though we can not render

Let vs learne our duety toward the king, the lawes and ordinances of the realme.

a cause for the doing of euery thing. For *Charitas omnia credit, omnia sperat.* Charitie doth beleue and trust al things. We ought to expound to the best all thinges, although we can not yelde a reason.

Therefore I exhorte you, good people, pronounce in good parte all the factes and dedes of the magistrates and iudges. Charitie iudgeth the best of all men, and specially of magistrates. Saynt Paul sayth, *Nolite iudicare ante tempus, donec Dominus aduenerit.* Iudge not before the time of the Lords comming. *Prauum cor hominis.* Mans hart is vnsearchable, it is a ragged peece of worke, no man knoweth his owne hart, and therefore Dauid prayeth and sayth. *Ab occultis meis munda me.* Deliuer me from my vnknown faults. I am a further offender then I can see. A man shalbe blinded in loue of him selfe, and cannot see so muche in him selfe as in other men: let vs not therefore iudge iudges. We are comptable to God, and so be they. Let them alone, they haue they? countes to make. If we haue charitie in vs, we shall do thys. For *Charitas operatur.* Charitie worketh. What worketh it? mary *Omnia credere, omnia sperare.* To accept all thinges in good parte. *Nolite iudicare ante tempus.* Iudge not before the Lordes comming. In this we learne to know Antichrist, whiche doth eleuate hym selfe in the church, and iudgeth at his pleasure, before the tyme. Hys canonizations and iudging of men before the Lordes iudgement, be a manifest token of Antichrist. How can he know Saintes? He knoweth not his owne hart, and he can not know them by myracles. For some myracle workers shall go to the deuill. I will tell you what I remembred yesternight in my bed. A meruaylous tale to perceyue, how inscrutable a mans hart is. I was once at Oxford (for I had occasion to come that way, when I was in my office) they tolde me it was a gayner way, and a sayner way, and by that occasion I lay there a night. Being there, I harde of an execution that was done vppon one that suffered for treason. It was as (ye know) a daungerous worlde for it might some cost a man his life for a worde speaking.

Psalm. 50.

How antichrist is knowen.

What he saw and hard once at Oxforde.

I cannot tell what the matter was, but the iudge set it so out that the man was condemned. Thirty. men came in, and

and sayd guilty, and vpon that, he was iudged to be hanged, drawn and quartered. When the rope was about his necke no man could perswade him that he was in any faulte, and stoode there a great while in the protestation of his innocency. They hanged him and cutte hym downe somewhat to soone afore he was cleane dead: then they drew hym to the fire, and he reuiued, and then he comming to hys remembraunce, confessed his fault and sayd he was guilty. O a wonderfull example: it may well be sayd, *Prauum cor hominis & inscrutabile.* A crabbed peece of worke and vnsearcheable. I will leaue here, for I thinke you know what I meane well inough. I shall not neede to apply this example any further. As I begā euer with this saying: *Quecunque scripta sunt*, like a trowant, and so I haue a common place to the ende, if my memory fayle me, *Beati qui audiunt verbum dei, & custodiunt illud.* Blessed be they that heare the worde of God, and keepe it. It must be kept in memory, in liuing, and in our conuersation. And if we so do, we shal come to the blessednes which God prepared for vs thorow his sonne Iesu Christ, to the which he bring vs all.

Amen.

g. g.

Note this ye wicked that will not confes your faultes.

The fourth Sermon preached by M. Hugh Latymer before K. Edward the xxix. of Marche.



QVÆCVNQVE scripta sunt: *ad nostrã doctrinam scripta sunt*. All thinges that are written, are written to be our doctrine.

Luke. 18.

The parable that I tooke to begin with (most honourable audience) is written in the 18. chapter of S. Luke, and there is a certayn remnaunt of it behind yet. The parable is this: There was a certayne iudge in a citie, that feared neither God nor man. And in the same city there was a widow that required iustice at his handes: but he would not heare her, but put her of, and delayed the matter: In processe, the Iudge seeyng her importunitie, sayd, though I feare neither God nor man, yet for the importunitie of the woman, I will heare her, least she rayle vpon me, and molest me with exclamations, and outcries I will heare her matter. I will make an ende of it. Our Sauiour Christ added more vnto this and sayd: *Audite quid iudex dicat, &c.* Heare you sayd Christ, what the wicked iudge sayd. And shall not God reuenge his elect, that cry vpõ him day and night? Although he tary and differre them, I say vnto you, he will reuenge them, and that shortly. But when the sonne of man shall come, shall he finde fayth in the earth?

That I may haue grace so to open the remnaunt of this parable, that it may be to the glory of God & edifieng of your soules, I shall desire you to pray. In the whiche prayer &c. I shewed you the last day (most honorable audience) the cause why our Sauiour Christ, rather vsed the example of a wicked iudge then of a good. And the cause was for that in those dayes there was great plentye of wicked iudges, so that he might borow an example among them wel inough. For there was much scarcitie of good iudges. I did excuse the widow al-

Why Christ vsed the example of a wicked Iudge.

so,

so, for comming to the iudge against her aduersary, because she did it not of malice: she did it not for appetite of vengeance.

And I told you that it was good and lawful, for honest vertuous folke, for gods people, to vse the lawes of the realme, as an ordinary helpe against their aduersaries, and ought to take them as gods holy ordinances, for the remedies of their iniuries and wrongs, when they are distressed. So that they do it charitably, louingly, not of malice, not vengeably, not couetously.

A briefe rehersall of thinges touched & spoken of, in hys third sermon.

I should haue told you here of a certaine sect of heretikes that speake against this order and doctrine, they will haue no magistrates nor iudges on the earth.

He meaneth Anabaptistes, for thys is one of theyr detestable and pernicious errours.

Here I haue to tell you, what I hard of late by the relation of a credible person, and a worshipfull man, of a towne in this Realme of England, that hath aboue v. C. heretikes of this erronious opinion in it, as he sayd.

How busy the Deuill is to hinder the worde and sclaunder the Gospell.

Oh so busie the Deuill is now to hinder the worde comming out, and to slaunder the Gospell.

The deuils busy stirring is an euident argument that this doctrine is true.

A sure argument and an euident demonstration, that the lighte of Goddes worde is abroade, and that this is a true doctrine that wée are taughte nowe: els hée would not roze and stirre aboute as he dothe when that he hathe the vpper hande. He will kéepe his possession quietly as he did in the popishe dayes, when he bare a rule of supremacie in peaceable possession. If he raigned now in open religion, in open doctrine as he did then, he woulde not stirre vp erronious opinions, he would haue kept vs without contention, without dissention. There is no suche diuersitie of opinions among the Turkes, nor among the Iewes. And why? For there he raigneth peaceably in the whole religion. Christe sayeth: *Cum fortis armatus custodierit atrium, &c.* When the strong armed man kéepeth his house, those thynges that hée hath in possession, are in a quietnesse, hée doth enioye them peaceably. *Sed cum fortior eo superuenerit.* But when a stronger then he commeth vpon hym, when the light of Goddes worde is once reuealed, then he is busie, then he rozes, then he fiskes abrode, and stirreth vp erronious opinions, to slaunder Goddes worde. And this is an argument that we haue, the true doctrine. I beseche God continue vs and kéepe vs

in it. The deuill declareth the same, and therefore he rores thus and goeth about to stirre vp these wanton heades and busie braynes. And will you know where this Towne is? I will not tell you directly. I will put you to muse a little. I will vtter the matter by circumloquution. Where is it? Where the Byshop of the Dioces is an vnpreachyng Prelate. Who is that? If there be but one such in all England, it is easie to gesse. And if there were no moe but one, yet it were to many by one. And if there be moe, they haue ye more to aunswere for, that they suffer in this Realme an vnpreachyng Prelate vnreformed. I remember well what Saint Paul sayth to a Byshop. And though he spake it to Timothe beyng a Byshop, yet I may say it now to the Magistrates, for all is one case, all is one matter. *Non communicabis peccatis alienis*. Thou shalt not be partaker of other mennes faultes. Lay not thy handes rashely vpon any, be not hasty in makyng of Curates, in receiuyng men to haue cure of soules, that are not worthy of the office, that either can not, or will not do their dutie. Do it not. Why? *Quia communicabis peccatis alienis*. Thou shalt be partaker of other mens sinnes. Now me thinke it nedes not to be partaker of other mens sinnes, we shall finde inough of our owne. And what is *Communicare peccatis alienis*? To be partaker of other mens euils, if this be not, to make vnpreachyng Prelates, and to suffer thē to continue still in their vnpreachyng Prelacie? If the kyng and his Counsell should suffer euill Iudges of this Realme to take bribes, to defeate Iustice and suffer the great to ouergoe the poore, and should loke through hys fingers, and wink at it, should not the kyng be partaker of their noughtynes? And why? Is he not supreme head of the Church? what? is the supremacie a dignitie and nothyng els? is it not comptable? I thinke it will be a chargeable dignitie when accompt shalbe asked of it.

1. Timoth. v.

Kynges and rulers must wake and not wynke, & leaue lookyng thorow their fingers.

A dignitie with a charge.

Oh what a vauntage hath the Deuill? what entrie hath the wolfe when the shepheard tendeth not his flocke, and leades them not to good pasture? Saint Paul doth say. *Qui bene præsunt presbyteri, duplici honore digni sunt*. What is this *præesse*? It is as much to say as to take charge and cure of soules. Who say *ille præest*, he is set ouer the flocke. He hath

1. Timo. v.

taken

taken charge vppon hym. And what is *Bene præesse*? To discharge the cure, to rule well, to fede the flocke with pure fode, and good example of lyfe. Well then, *Qui bene præsunt, duplici honore digni sunt*. They that discharge their cure well, are worthy double honour. What is this double honour? The first is to be reuerenced, to be had in estimation and reputation with the people, and to be regarded as good pastours. An other honour is, to haue all thynges necessary for their state, ministred vnto them. This is the double honour that they ought to haue *Qui præsunt Bene*, that discharge the cure, if they do it *Bene*.

To rule well what that is.

What is double honour.

There was a mery Monke in Cambridge in the Colledge that I was in, and it chaunced a great company of vs to be together, entendyng to make good cheare, and to be mery (as Scholers will be mery when they are disposed:) One of the company brought this sentence. *Nil melius quàm lætari, & facere bene*. There is nothyng better then to be mery, and to do well. A vengeaunce of *Bene* (quoth the Monke) I would that *Bene* had bene banished beyond the Sea: and that *Bene* were out, it were well. For I could be mery, and I could do, but I loue not to do well. That, *Bene* marres altogether. I would *Bene* were out, quoth the mery Monke, for it importeth many thynges, to lyue well, to discharge the cure. In deede it were better for them if it were out. And it were as good to be out as to be ordered as it is. It will be a heauy *Bene*, to some of them, when they shall come to their accompte. But peraduenture you will say, What and they preach not at all? Yet *præsunt*. Are they not worthy double honour? is it not an honorable order they be in? May an horrible misorder, it is an horror rather then an honour, and horrible rather, then honourable, if the preacher be nought, and do not his dutie. And thus goe these Prelates about to wrestle for honour, that the Deuill may take his pleasure in sclaunderyng the Realme, and that it may be reported abroad that we breede heresies among our selues. It is to be thought that some of them would haue it so, to bryng in Poperie agayne.

The mery Monke of Cãbridge.

Where the preacher doth not hys dutie, there the order is not honorable, but horrible.

This I feare me is their entent, and it shalbe blowen abroad to our holy father of Romes eares, and he shall send

The entent of vnpreachyng Prelates.

forth his thonderboltes vpon these brutes, and all this doth come to passe thorow their vnpreachyng Prelacie.

Are they not worthy double honour? Nay rather double dishonour, not to be regarded, not to be esteemed among the people, and to haue no lyuyng at their handes? For as good preachers be worthy double honour: so vnpreachyng Prelates be worthy double dishonour. They must be at their doublets. But now these two dishonours what be they? Our Sauiour Christ doth shew. *Si sal infatuatus fuerit ad nihil vltra valet, nisi vt proiiciatur foras.* If the salt be vnsauerie, it is good for nothyng, but to be cast out and troden of men. By this salt, is vnderstand Preachers, and such as haue cure of soules. What be they worthy then? Wherfore serue they? For nothyng els but to be cast out.

An argument of congruence. Mathy. v.

Make them quondames, out with them, cast them out of their office, what should they do with cure that will not loke to them? An other dishonour is this *Vt conculcentur ab hominibus*. To be troden vnder mens feete, not to be regarded, not to be esteemed: They be at their doublets still. Saint Paule in his Epistle, qualifieth a Bishop, and sayth that he must be. *Aptus ad docendum, ad refellendum aptus.* To teach and to confute all maner of false doctrine. But what shall a man do with aptenes, if he do not vse it? It were as good for vs to be without it. A Bishop came to me the last day, and was angry with me for a certaine Sermon that I made in this place. His Chaplaine had complayned agaynst me, because I had spoken agaynst vnpreachyng Prelates. Nay quoth the Bishop, he made so indifferent a Sermon the first day, that I thought he would marre all the second day. He will haue euery man a quondam as he is. As for my quondamshyp I thanke GOD that he gaue me the grace to come by it, by so honest a meanes as I dyd, I thanke him for myne owne quondamshyp, and as for them, I will not haue them made quondams, if they discharge their office. I would haue them do their dutie. I would haue no more quondames as God helpe me. I owe them no other malice then this, and that is none at all.

A bishop angry with M. Latimer.

This Bishop aunswered his Chaplayne: well (sayes he) well I dyd wisely to day, for as I was goyng to his Ser-

The bishops answere to his chaplayn.

mon,

mon, I remembred me that I had neither sayd Masse, nor Mattens. And homeward I gate as fast as I could, and I thanke God I haue sayd both, and let his vnfrutefull Sermon alone. Vnfruitefull sayth one, an other sayth seditious. Well, vnfruitefull is the best, and whether it be vnfruitefull or no, I can not tell, it lyeth not in me to make it fruitefull. And GOD worke not in your hartes, my preachyng can doe you but little good. I am Gods instrument but for a tyme. It is he that must geue the encrease, and yet preachyng is necessary. For take away preachyng, and take away saluation. I told you of *Scala cæli* and I made it a preachyng matter, not a Mallyng matter. Christ is the preacher of all preachers, the patrone and the examplar, that all preachers ought to folow. For it was he by whom the father of heauen sayd, *Hic est filius meus dilectus, ipsum audite*. This is my welbeloued sonne, heare hym, Euen he when he was here on earth, as wysely, as learnedly, as circumspectly as he preached, yet his seede fell in three partes, so that the fourth part onely was fruitefull. And if he had no better lucke that was preacher of all preachers, what shall we looke for? Yet was there no lacke in hym, but in the ground: And so now there is no fault in preachyng: the lacke is in the people that haue stony hartes, and thorny hartes. I beseech GOD to amende them. And as for these folke that speake agaynst me I neuer looke to haue their good word as long as I lyue. Yet will I speake of their wickednes, as long as I shalbe permitted to speake, as long as I liue I wil be an enemy to it. No preachers can passe it ouer with silence. It is the originall rote of all mischief. As for me I owe them no other ill will, but I pray GOD amend them, when it pleaseth hym. Now to the parable. What dyd the wicked iudge in end of the tale? The loue of God moued him not, the law of GOD was this, and it is writen in the first of Deuteronomie: *audite eos* heare them. These two wordes will be heauy wordes to wicked iudges an other day. But some of them peraduenture will say: I will heare such as wil geue bribes, & those that will do me good turnes. Nay, ye be hedged out of that libertie. He sayth *ita parvum vt magnum*. The small as well as great. Ye must do *iustum*,

Preachers are Gods instrumentes.

Three partes of Christes doctrine fell in vnfruitful ground.

deale

Justice ought to be ministred without delayes.

deale iustly, minister iustice, and that to all men, & you must do it *iuste*, in tyme conuenient, without any delayes, or driuyng of, with expedition. Well, I say, neither this law, nor the word and commaundement of God moued this wicked Judge, nor the miserie of this widow, nor the vprightnes of her cause, nor the wrong which she toke, moued him: but to auoyde importunitie, and clamour and exclamation, he gaue her the hearyng, he gaue her finall sentence, and so she had her request.

Importunitie would the wicked iudge to heare the widow.

This place of iudgement it hath bene euer vnperfect, was neuer sene that all Judges did their duty, & they would heare the small as well as the great. I will not proue this by the witnes of any priuate Magistrate, but by ỳ wisest kyngs saying that euer was: *vidi sub sole* (sayth Salomon) *in loco iustitiæ impietatem, & in loco æquitatis iniquitatem.* I haue sene vnder the sunne, that is to say, ouer all, in euery place where right iudgemẽt should haue bene, wickednes, as who would say bribes takyng, defeating of iustice, oppressing of ỳ poore. Men sent away with weepyng teares, without any hearyng of their causes, and in ỳ place of equitie sayth he, I haue sene iniquitie. No equitie, no iustice, a sore word for Salomon to pronounce vniuersally, generally. And if Salomõ said it, there is a matter in it. I weene he sayd it not onely for his owne tyme, but he saw it both in those that were before him, & also that were to come after him. Now cometh Esay & he affirmeth the same, speaking of the iudgemẽtes done in his tyme in the common place, as it might be Westminster Hall, the Guyld Hall, the Judges Hall, the Prætor house. Call it what you will. In the open place. For iudges at that tyme (according to the maner) sat in the gates of ỳ Citie in the hye way. A godly & godly order for to sit, so that the poore people may easely come to them. But what sayth Esay that seditious fellow: He saith of his countrey this: *expectaui vt faceret iudicium, & fecit iniquitatem.* I loked the Judges should do their duty, and I saw thẽ worke iniquitie. There was bribes walkyng, money makyng, makyng of hãdes (quoth the Prophet, or rather almighty God by the Prophet) such is their partialitie, affection, and bribes. They be such money makers, inhaunsers, & promoters of them selues. Esay knew this by the eyeing

Right iudgement set aside, and wickednes aduaunced.

Judges were wont to sit in the Gates of the Citie.

Bribes and bribers.

ing of the people, *ecce clamor populi* saith he. And though some among them be vnreasonable people (as many be now a dayes) yet no doubt of it, some cried not without a cause. And why? Their matters are not heard, they are fayne to go home with weeping teares, that fall down by their chekes, & ascende vp to heauen, & cry for vengeaunce. Let Judges loke about them, for surely God will reuenge his elect one day.

Judges are cryed out vpon for not doing of Iustice.

And surely me thinke, if a Judge would follow but a worldly reason, and wey the matter politikly, without these examples of scripture, he should feare more the hurt that maye be done him by a pore widdow, or a miserable man, then by the greatest Gentleman of them all. God hath pulled the Judges skins ouer theyr heads, for the pore mans sake. Yea the pore widdow may do him more hurt with her pore *Pater noster* in her mouth, then any other weapon. And with two or three wordes she shal bring him downe to the ground, and destroy his iollity, & cause him to lose more in one day, then he gat in seuen yeares. For God will reuenge these myserable folkes that can not helpe them selues. He sayth: *ego in die visitationis. &c.* In the day of visitation I will reuenge them. *An non vlciscetur anima mea?* Shal not my soule be reuenged. As who should say: I must nedes take their part: *Veniens veniam, et non tardabo.* Yes, though I tary, & though I seeme to lynger neuer so long, yet I will come at the length, and that shortly. And if God spake this, he will performe hys promise. He hath for their sakes (as I told you) pulled ỳ skinne ouer the Judges eares ere this. King Dauid trusted some in his old age, that did him not very good seruice. Now, if in the people of God, there were some folkes that fell to bribing, then what was there among the Heathen? Absolon Dauids sonne was a bywalker, and made disturbaunce among the people in hys fathers tyme. And though he were a wicked man, and a bywalker, yet some there were in that time that were good, and walked vprightly. I speake not this agaynst the Judges seate. I speake not as thoughe all Judges were nought, and as though I dyd not hold with the Judges, maiestrates, and officers, as the Anabaptistes these false heretikes do. But I iudge them honourable, necessary, and Gods ordinaunce. I speake it as scripture speaketh, to geue a *Caue*

A good aduertisement to our Judges.

The widowes weapon.

Dauid was deceiued in puttyng trust in his Judges, when he waxed olde himselfe.

Absolon was a bywalker.

Judges are honorable if they truly execute theyr offices.

at

at, and a warning to all Magistrates, to cause them to loke to their offices. For the deuill the great Magistrate, is very busy now, he is euer doing, he neuer ceaseth to go about to make thē like him selfe. The prouerb is *Simile gaudet simili.* Like would haue like. If the Iudge be good and vpright, he will assaye to deceaue him, eyther by the subtile suggestion of craftye Lawyers, or els by false witnesse, and subtyle vttering of a wrong matter. He goeth about as much as he can to corrupt the men of law, to make them fall to bribery, to lay burdens on poore mens backes, and to make them fall to periury, and to bring into the place of iudgement all corruption, iniquity, and impietie.

The craft of the deuill.

I haue spoken thus much, to occasion all Iudges and Magistrates to loke to their offices. They had nede to loke about them. Thys geare moued Saint Chrisostome to speake thys sentence: *Miror si aliquis rectorum potest saluari.* I maruayle (sayde thys Doctour) if any of these Rulers or great Magistrates can be saued. He spake it not for the impossibilitye of the thing (God forbidde that all the Magistrates and Iudges should be condemned) but for the difficulty.

A strange saying of Chrisostome.

Oh that a man might haue the contemplation of hell, that the Deuil would alow a man to loke into hell, to see the state of it, as he shewed all the worlde when he tempted Christe in the wyldernes. *Commonstrat illi omnia regna mundi,* he shewed hym all the kingdomes of the world, and all theyr tollity, and told him that he would geue hym all, if he would knele down and worshyp hym. He lyed like a faulse harlot, he coulde not geue them, he was not able to geue so much as a Gose wing for they were none of hys to geue. The other ỳ he promised them vnto: had more right to them then he. But I say if one were admitted to view hell thus, and behold it thorowlye, the deuil wold say: On yonder side are punished vnpreaching prelates. I thinke a man should se as far as a kenning & see nothing but vnpreaching Prelates. He might loke as far as Calice I warrant you. And than if he would go on the other side, and shew where that bribing Iudges were, I thinke he should see so many, that there were scāt roume for any other. Our Lord amēd it. Wel to our matter. This iudge I speake of, sayd: Though I feare neither God, nor man. &c. And did

Math. 4.

Vnpreaching prelates and bribing iudges are placed in hell.

he

he thinke thus? Is it the maner of wicked Iudges to confesse
theyr faultes? nay he thought not so. And if a man had come
to hym, & called hym wicked, he would forth with haue com-
maunded him to warde, he would haue defended hym selfe
stoutly. It was God that spake in his cõscience. God putteth
hym to vtter suche thinges as he sawe in his hart, and were
hid to hym selfe. And there be like things in the scripture, as
Dixit insipiens in corde suo, non est deus. The vnwise man sayd
in his hart, there is no God. And yet if he should haue bene
asked the question, he would haue denyed it.

Why wicked Iudges confesse their faultes.

Esay the Prophet sayth also: *Mendatio protecti sumus*, we
are defended with lyes. We haue put our trust in lyes. And
in an other place he sayth: *ambulabo in pranitate cordis mei*, I
will walke in the wickednes of my hart. He vttereth what
lyeth in his hart, not knowen to him selfe, but to God. It was
not for nought that Ieremy describeth mans hart in his col-
lours. *Prauum cor hominis, et inscrutabile*. The hart of man is
noughty, a croked & froward peece of worke. Let euery man
humble himselfe and acknowledge his fault, & do as S. Paul
dyd. When the people to whom he had preached, had sayde
many things in his commendation, yet he durst not iustify
himselfe. Paul would not prayse himselfe, to his owne iustifi-
cation, and therefore when they had spoken those thinges by
him: I passe not at all sayth he, what ye say by me, I will not
stande to your report, & yet he was not so froward that when
he herd the truth reported of him, he would say it to be false,
but he sayd, I will neither stand to your report, though it be
good and iust, neither yet I will say that it is vntrue. He was
Bonus Pastor, A good shepeheard. He was one of thẽ, *qui bene
præsunt* that discharged his cure, & yet he thought that there
might be a farther thing in him selfe, then he saw in hym
selfe. And therfore he sayd: The Lord shall iudge me. I will
stand onely to the Iudgement of the Lord. For loke whom
he iudges to be good, he is sure, he is safe, he is cocke sure. I
spake of this geare the last day, and of some I had litle thanke
for my labour. I smelled some folkes that were grieued with
me for it, because I spake agaynst temerarious iudgement.
What hath he to do with iudgement (saye they?) I went a-
bout to kepe you from arrogant iudgement. This is no good

Ieremy 17. describeth the hart of man.

Paule would not iustifie him selfe.

The truth gets hatred.

argument

argument my frendes. A mā semeth not to feare death, there fore hys cause is good. This is a deceaueable argument. He went to his death boldly, *Ergo*, he standeth in a iust quarell.

Anabaptistes. The Anabaptistes that were brent here in diuers townes in England (as I heard of credible men, I saw them not my selfe) went to their death, euen *Intrepide:* as ye will say without any fear in the worlde, cherefully. Wel, let thē go. Ther was in the olde doctours times an other kind of poysoned heretikes, that were called Donatistes. And these heretikes went to their execution as though they should haue gone to some iollye recreation or banket, to some beally chere, or to a play. And will ye argu then? He goeth to his death boldely, or cherefully, *ergo* he dyeth in a iust cause. Nay that sequel foloweth no more then this. A mā semes to be afrayd of death, *ergo* he dyeth euill. And yet our Sauiour Christ was afrayde of death him selfe. I warne you therfore, & charge you not to iudge thē that be in authority, but to pray for them. It becommeth vs not to iudge great maiestrates, nor to cōdemne their doinges, vnlesse their dēdes be openly and apparantly wicked. Charity requireth the same, for charity iudgeth no man but well of euery body. And thus we may trye whether we haue charity or no, & if we haue not charity we are not Gods disciples, for they are knowen by that badge. He that is hys disciple, hath the worke of charity in his breast. It is a worthy saying of a clarke, *Charitas si est, operatur, si non operatur, non est*, If there be charity it worketh *omnia credere, omnia sperare*. To beleue all thinges, to hope all, to say the best of the maiestrates, and not to the stand to the defending of a wicked matter. I will go farder with you now. I was trauailed in ꝯ Tower my selfe (with the kinges commaundement, and the counsayle) and there was syr Robert Cunstable, the Lorde Hussy, the Lord Darsy. And the Lord Darsy, was telling me of the faythfull seruice that he had done the Kinges maiesty that dead is. And I had sene my Soueraign Lord in the field (sayd he) and I had sene his grace come agaynst vs, I would haue lighted from my horse, & taken my sword by the poynt, and yelded it into his graces handes. Mary (quod I) but in the meane season ye played not the parte of a faythfull subiect in holding with the people in a commotion and a disturbaunce.

Judge not such as are in authority.

Charitie iudgeth well of all men.

Sir Robert Constable.
The L. Darcy
The L. Hussy.

baunce. It hath ben ỳ call of all traytours to pretend nothing agaynst the Kinges person, they neuer pretend the matter to the king, but to other. Subiectes may not resist any magistrates, nor ought to do nothing contrary to ỳ Kings lawes. And therefore these wordes, the King and so forth, are of small effect. I heard once a tale of a thing that was done at Orford .x. yeres a go, & the like hath ben since in this realme as I was enformed of credible persons, & some of them that saw it be a lyue yet. There was a priest that was robbed of a great sum of money, and there were ỳ. or iij. attached for the same robbery and to be brefe were condemned, & brought to the place of execution. The first man, when he was vpon the ladder denyed the matter vtterly, and toke his death vpon it that he neuer consented to the robbery of the priest, nor neuer knew of it. When he was dead, the second fellow commeth, & maketh his protestation and acknowledged the faut, saying: that among other greuous offences that he had done he was accessary to this robbery, & sayth he, I had my part of it, I cry God mercy, so had this felow that died before me his part. Now who cã iudge whether this felow died wel or no? Who can iudge a mans hart? The one denyed the matter, & the other cõfessed it, there is no iudging of such matters. Whẽ I was with the Bishop of Chichester in ward (I was not so with him, but my frendes might come to me, and talke with me) I was desirous to heare of executiõ done (as there was euery weeke, some in one place of the citie or other) for there was three weekes sessions at Newgate, and fortnight Sessions at the Marshalsey, and so forth. I was desirous I say to heare of execution, because I loked that my part should haue bene therein, I loked euery day to be called to it my selfe. Among all other I heard of a wanton womã, a naughty liuer. A whore, a vaine body, was led from Newgate to the place of execution for a certayne robbery that she had committed, and she had a wicked communicatiõ by the way. Here I will take occasion to moue your grace that such men as shall be put to death may haue learned men to geue them instruction and exhortation.

Execution at Oxforde.

Iudge not rashly.

Executions.

A desperate harlot.

Such as go to executiõ ought to haue learned men to counsayle them.

For the reuerence of God when they be put to executiõ, let them haue instructours, for many of them are cast away for lacke

Such as go to execution ought to haue learned men to counsail them.

lack of instruction, & die miserably for lack of good preaching. This woman (I say) as she went by the waye, had wanton and wilish talke, as this, that if good felowes had kept touche with her, she had not bene at this tyme in that case. Christe sayth: *Memores estote uxoris Loth.* Remember Lothes wife. She was a woman that would not be content with her good state, but wrestled with gods calling, & she was for that cause turned into a salt stone, & therfore the Scripture doth name her as an example for vs to take heede by. Ye shal see also in ỳ 2. chapter, how that God almighty spared not a number of his Aungels, which had sinned agaynst him to make them examples to vs to beware by. He drowned the whole world in the time of Noe and destroyed for sinne the cities of Sodom & Gomor. And why? *fecit eos exemplũ iis, qui impiè forẽt acturi.* He made them an example to them that would do wickedly in tyme to come. If God would not spare them, thinke ye hee will fauour vs? I wil go on a worde or two, in the applicatiõ of the parable, and then I will make an ende. To what end, and to what purpose brought Christ this parable of ỳ wicked Judge? The ende is, that we should be continually in prayer. Prayer is neuer interrupte but by wyckednesse. We ought therfore walke orderly, vprightly, calling vppon God in all our troubles and aduersities, and for this purpose there is not a more comfortable lesson in all the scripture, then here now in the lapping vp of the matter. Therfore I will open it vnto you. You miserable people, if there be any here amõgst you, that are oppressed with great men and can get no helpe, I speake for your comforte, I will open vnto you whether ye shall resorte, when ye be in any distres. His good will is ready, alwayes at hande, whensoeuer we shall cal for it. And therefore he calles vs to himselfe. We shall not doubt if we come to hym. Marke what he sayth, to cause vs beleue that our prayers shalbe heard: *Et deus non faciet vindictam* he reasons after this fashion: Will not God (sayth hee) reuenge his elect, and heare them? seeyng the wicked Judge hearde the widowe? He seemeth to goe plainely to worke, he willeth vs to pray to god, and to none but to god. We haue a maner of reasoning in the scholes, and it is called *A minore ad maius.* From the lesse to the more, and that may hee vsed here. The

In all our troubles and aduersities, we must resort by prayer vnto almighty God, and pray continually.

iudge

iudge was a tyrant, a wicked man, God is a patron, a defender a father vnto vs. If the iudge then, being a tyrant would heare the poore widow, much more God will heare vs in all distresses, he being a father vnto vs, he will heare vs sooner then the other, being no father, hauing no fatherly affection. Moreouer, God is naturally mercifull. The iudge was cruell, and yet he helped the widow, much more then will God helpe vs at our neede. He saith by the oppressed: *Cum ipso sum in tribulatione.* I am with him in his trouble. His tribulation is mine. I am touched with his trouble. If the iudge then being a cruell man heard the widow, much more God will helpe vs, being touched with our affliction. Furthermore, this iudge gaue the widow no commaundement to come to him, we haue a commaundement to resort to God, for he sayth: *Inuoca me in die tribulationis,* call vpon me in the day of thy tribulations, which is as well a commaundement, as *Non furaberis,* thou shalt not steale. He that spake the one, spake the other, and whatsoeuer he be that is in trouble and calleth not vpon God, breaketh his commaũdement. Take heede therefore, the iudge did not promise the widow helpe, God promised vs helpe, and will he not performe it? He will, he will. The iudge (I say) did not promise the widow helpe, God wil geue vs both hearing and helping, He hath promised it vs with a double oth, *Amen, amen,* sayth he, verely, verely, he doubles it. *Quæcunque petieritis. &c.* whatsoeuer ye shall aske in my name, ye shall haue it. And though he put of some sinner for a time, and suffer him to bite on the bridle, to proue him (for there be many beginners, but few cõtinuers in prayer) yet we may not thinke that he hath forgotten vs, and will not helpe vs. *Veniens veniet, non tardabit.* When the helpe is most nedefull, then he will come and not tary. He knoweth whẽ it shall be best for vs to haue help, though he tary, he will come at the last. I will trouble you but halfe a quarter of an houre, in the application of the parable, and so commit you to God.

God will for his promise heare our prayers & graunt our petition if we aske in fayth.

God willeth vs to call vpon hym.

What should it meane that God would haue vs so diligẽt and earnest in prayer? Hath he such pleasure in our workes?

Many talke of prayer, and make it a lip labouring. Praying is not babling, nor praying is not monkery. It is to miserable folke that are oppressed, a comfort, solace, and a remedy. But what maketh our prayer to be acceptable to God? It lieth not in our power, we must haue it by an other meane. Remẽber what God sayd of his sonne: *Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui.* This is my deare sonne, in whom I delite. He hath pleasure in nothing but in him. How cõmeth it to passe that our prayer pleaseth God? Our prayer pleaseth God, because Christ pleaseth God. When we pray, we come vnto him, in the confidence of Christes merits, and thus offering vp our prayers, they shal be heard for Christes sake. Yea, Christ will offer them vp for vs, that offered vp once his sacrifice to God, which was acceptable, and he that commeth with any other meane then this, God knoweth him not. Thys is not the Missall sacrifice, the Popishe Sacrifice to stand at the aulter, and offer vp Christ againe. Dute vpon it that euer it was vsed. I will not say nay, but that ye shall finde in the olde Doctours this worde *Sacrificium*, but there is one generall solution for all the Doctours that Saint Augustin sheweth vs. The signe of a thing hath oftentimes the name of the thyng that it signifieth. As the Supper of Lord is the Sacrament of an other thing, it is a comemoration of his death which suffered once for vs, and because it is a signe of Christes offering vp, therefore he beares the name thereof. And this sacrifice a woman can offer as well as a man: Yea, a poore woman in the belfry hath as good authority to offer vp this sacrifice, as hath ỹ bysshop in his *pontificalibus*, with his miter on his head, hys ringes on his fingers, and Sãdales on his fete. And whosoeuer commeth asking the father remedy in his necessity for Christes sake, he offereth vp as acceptable a sacrifice as any Bysshop can do. And so to make an end. This must be done with a constant fayth, and a sure confidence in Christ. Fayth Fayth, Fayth, We are vndone for lacke of Fayth. Christ nameth Fayth here, Fayth is altogether. When the sonne of man shall come, shall he finde Fayth on the earth? Why speaketh he so much of Fayth? because it is harde to finde a true

Our prayers are acceptable to God for Christes sake.

One solucion for all.

Fayth is altogether.

true fayth. He speaketh not of a politicall fayth, a fayth set vp for a time, but a constant, a permanent, a durable faith, as durable as Gods word. He came many times. First in the time of Noe, when he preached, but he found litle fayth. He came also when Lot preached, when he destroyed Sodome & Gomorra, but he found no faith. And to be short he shall come at the latter day, but he shall finde a litle fayth. And I wene the day be not farre of. When he was here carnally, did he finde any fayth? Many spake of fayth, but few there be that hath it. Christ mourneth the lacke of it. He complayneth that when he came, he found no fayth.

God hath visited the worlde, often but he found litle faith therein.

This fayth is a great State, a Lady, a Dutches, a great woman, and she hath euer a great company and traine about her (as a noble estate ought to haue.) First she hath a gentleman Vsher that goeth before her, and where he is not, there is not Lady fayth. This gentleman Vsher is called *Agnitio peccatorum*, knowledge of sinne, whē we enter into our hart, and acknowledge our faultes, and stand not about to defend them. He is none of these winckers, he kickes not when he heares his fault. Now as the Gentleman Vsher goeth before her, so she hath a traine that commeth behinde her, and yet though they come behinde, they be all of Faythes company, they are all wyth her, as Christ when he coūterfaited a State going to Hierusalem, some went before him, and some after, yet all were of his company. So all these waite vpon Fayth, she hath a great traine after her, besides her gentleman Vsher, her whole houshold, and those be the workes of our vocation, when euery man considereth what vocation he is in, what calling he is in, and doth the workes of the same, as to be good to his neighbour, to obey God. &c.

Faith is a great State and a Dutches.

Knowledge of sinne is gentleman Vsher to Lady Fayth.

This is the trayne that foloweth Lady Fayth, as for an example: A faythfull Iudge hath first an heauy reckoning of hys fault, repenting him self of his wickednes, & thē forsaketh his iniquitie, his impiety, feareth no man, walkes vpright, and he that doth not thus, hath not Lady Fayth, but rather a boldnes of sinne, and abusing of Christes passion. Lady Fayth is neuer without her Gentleman Vsher, nor wythout her

Lady Faith is no Anchres.

trayne, she is no Ankres, she dwels not alone, she is neuer a priuate woman, she is neuer alone. And yet many there be that boast themselues that they haue faith, & that whē Christ shall come, they shall do well inough. Nay, nay, these that be faithfull shalbe so fewe, that Christ shall scarce see them. Many there be that runneth (sayth Saint Paule) but there is but one that receiueth the reward. It shall be with the multitude when Christ shall come, as it was in the tyme of Noe, and as it was in the time of Lot.

In the time of Noe, they were eating and drinking, building and planting, and sodainely the water came vppon thē, and drowned them. In the time of Lot also, they were eating and drincking. &c. And sodainely the fire came vpon them, and deuoured them.

What eating & drinking is allowed in scripture. & what is not allowed.

And now we are eating and drinking. There was neuer such building thē, as is now, plāting, nor maryng. And thus it shalbe euen when Christ shall come, at iudgement. Is eating and drincking and maryng, reproued in scripture? Is it not? Nay he reproueth not all kinde of eating and drincking, he must be otherwise vnderstanded. If the scripture be not truely expounded, what is more erronious? And though there be complaynings of some eating or drinking in the scripture, yet he speaketh not as though all were nought. They may be well ordered, they are Gods allowaunce, but to eate & drinke as they did in Noes time, and as they did in Lothes time: This eating and drincking, and marying is spoken against. To eate and drinke in the forgetfulnes of Gods commaundement, voluptuously, in excesse and glotonie, this kynde of eating and drinking is nought, when it is not done moderatly, soberly, and with all circumspectiō. And likewise to marry, for fleshly lust, and for their owne fantasy. There was neuer such marriyng in Englād, as is now. I heare tell of stealing of wardes to marry their children to. This is a straynge kinde of stealing, but it is not the wardes, it is the lands that they steale. And some there be that knit vp mariages together not for any loue or godlines in the parties, but to gette frendship, and make them strong in the realme, to encrease

Stealing of wardes for landes sake.

their

theyr possessions, and to loyne land to lande. And other there be that inueigle mens daughters, in the contempt of theyr fathers, and goe about to marry them without theyr consente: This maryng is vngodly. And many parentes constrayne their sonnes and daughters to mary where they loue not, and some are beaten and compulsed. And they that marry thus, marry in a forgetfulnes and obliuiousnes of Gods commaundementes. But as in the time of Noe, sodenly a clap fell in their bosomes: so shal it be wt vs at the latter day, whē Christ shall come. We haue as little conscience as may be, and when he shall come, we shall lacke Lady Fayth: Well is them that shalbe of that little flocke, that shalbe set on the right hand. &c.

Mariages, some are godly and some are vngodly.

I haue troubled you long, partly being out of my matter, partly being in: but now I will make an ende. I began with this text: *Quæcunq; scripta sunt. &c.* So will I ende now for for mine owne ease, as an olde truant, with this sentence, *Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei. &c.* Blessed are they that heare the worde of God, and keepe it I tolde you in the beginning of this parable of *Bene. Nil melius quàm letari & facere.* If I had ceased there, al had bene wel (quod the mery monke) so blessed are they that heare the worde of God: But what soloweth: and keepe it. Our blessednesse commeth of the keeping. It hanges all on the the end of the tale, in crediting and assenting to ỹ word, and folowing of it. And thus we shal begin our blessednesse here, and at length we shall come to the blessing that neuer shall haue end, which God graunt both you and me. Amen.

He is blessed that heareth and keepeth Gods word.

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The fyfte Sermon of M. Latimer, preached before K. Edward.

April. 5.

QVÆCVNQVE *ſcripta ſunt, ad noſtram doctrinam ſcripta ſunt*. All thinges that are written, they are written to bee our doctrine. *Rom. 16.*

What doctrine is written for vs in the parable of the Iudge, and the widowe, I haue opened it to you (moſt honorable audience) ſome thing as concerning the iudge. I would wiſh and pray, that it might be a little better kept in memory, that in the ſeat of iuſtice, no more iniquitie and vnrighteouſnes might raigne. Better a little well kept, then a greate deale forgotten. I would the Iudges would take foorth theyr leſſon that there might be no more iniquitie vſed, nor bribetaking: for if there ſhall be bribing, they knowe the perill of it, they know what ſhall follow. I would alſo they ſhould take example of this Iudge, that did ſay, not that that he thoughte him ſelfe, but our Sauiour Chriſt puts him to ſay that thing, that was hid vnto him ſelfe. Wherefore I would ye ſhoulde keepe in memory, how vnſearchable a mans hart is. I would ye ſhould remember the fall of the Angels, and beware thereby: the fall of the olde worlde, and beware thereby: the fall of Sodome and Gomora, and beware therby: the fall of Lothes wife, and beware thereby. I woulde not, that miſerable folke ſhould forgette the argument of the wicked Iudge, to induce them to prayer, which argument is this: If the Iudge beyng a tyrant, a cruell man, a wicked man, which did not call her to him, made her no promiſe, nor in hearing nor helping of her cauſe, yet in the ende of the matter for the importunities ſake did helpe her: Much more almighty God, which is a Father, who beareth a fatherly affection, as the father doth to the childe, and is naturally merciſull, and calleth vs to him with his promiſe that he will heare them that call vppon him, that be in diſtreſſe and burdened with aduerſitie. Remember this. You knowe where to haue your remedie. You by your prayer

Iudges are here exhorted to auoid bribes and to vſe no delaies.

The argumẽt of the wicked iudge ſhould induce vs to prayer.

prayer can worke great efficacie, and your praier with teares is an instrument of great efficacie. It can bring many thinges to passe. But what thing is that, that maketh our prayer acceptable to God: is it our babling? No, no, it is not our babling, nor our long prayer: there is an other thing then it. The dignitie and worthinesse of our woordes, is of no such vertue. For whosoeuer resorteth vnto God, not in the confidence of his owne merites, but in the sure trust of the deseruing of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, and in his passion. Whosoeuer doth inuocate the Father of heauen, in the trust of Christes merites, which offring is ỳ moste comfortable & acceptable offering to the Father. Whosoeuer I say offreth vp Christ which is a perfect offring, he can not be denyed the thing he desireth, so that it be expedient for him to haue it. It is not the babling of our lippes, nor dignitie of our woordes, but the prayer of the hart, is the offring that pleaseth, through the onely meanes of hys Sonne. For our prayer profiteth vs because we offer Christ to his Father. Whosoeuer resorteth to God wythout Christ, he resorteth in vayne. Our prayer pleaseth, because of Iesus Christ, whome we offer. So that it is fayth, fayth is the matter. It is no prayer that is without fayth, it is but a lip labouring, and mockerie without fayth. It is but a little babling. I speake also of lacke of fayth, and vpon that also I sayd, the end of the world is neare at hand. For there is lacke of fayth now. Also the defection is come and swarming from the faith. Antichrist the man of sinne, the sonne of iniquitie is reuealed, the later dayes are at hand. Let vs not think his comming is farre of. But whensoeuer he commeth, he shall finde iniquitie enough, let him come when he will. What is now behinde? We be eating and drinking, as they were in Noes time, and marrying, I thinke as wickedly as euer was. We be building, purchasing, planting in the contempte of Gods worde. He may come shortlye when he will, for there is so much mischiefe, and swarming from the fayth (raigning now in our dayes) as euer was in any age. It is a good warning to vs all, to make ready against his comming. This little rehearsall I haue made of the thinges I spake in my last ser-

What may be wrought by prayer.

What maketh our prayers acceptable to god.

Our prayer pleaseth God for Christes sake.

Fayth is all.

Coniectures of the end of the world.

As much wickednes vsed in our time, as euer was in the time of Noe.

mon. I wil now for this day returne to my question, and dissolue it, whether Gods people may be gouerned by a gouernour, that beareth the name of a king, or no. The Iewes had a lawe that when they shoulde haue a king, they shoulde haue him according to the election of God, he would not leaue the election of a king to theyr owne braines. There be some busie braines, wanton wittes, that say, the name of a king is an odious name, and wreth this text of the Scripture: where God seemeth to be angry and displeased with the Israelites for asking a king, expounding it very euill and odiously. As who would say, a king were an odious thing. I comming riding in my way, and calling to remembraunce wherefore I was sent, that I must preach, and preach before the kings maiestie: I thought it meete to fraime my preaching according to a king. Musing of this, I remembred my selfe of a booke, that came from cardinall Pole, maister Pole the kinges traytor, which he sent to the kinges maiestie, I neuer remember that man, me thincke, but I remember him with a heauy hart, a witty man, a learned man, a man of a noble house, so in fauour that if he had taryed in the realme, and would haue conformed himselfe to the kinges procedinges, I heard say, and I beleeue it verely, that he had bene Byshop of Yorke at thys day. To be bidden by, he would haue done much good in that part of the realme: for those quarters haue alwayes had great neede of learned men, and a preaching prelate. A thing to be much lamented, that such a man shoulde take such a way. I heare say, he readeth much S. Hieromes workes, and is well seene in them. But I would, he would followe S. Hierome, where he expounded this place of Scripture: *Exite de illa populus mi.* Almighty God sayth: Get you from it, get you from Rome, he calleth it the purple whore of Babilon. It had bene more commendable to goe from it, then to come to it. What his sayinges be in his booke, I do not well remember, it is in the farthest ende of my memory. He declareth himselfe in it, to haue a corrupt iudgement. I haue but a glimmering of it, yet generally I remember the scope of it. He goeth about to disswade the King from his supremacie. In his perswasions he is

Whether gods people may be gouerned by a king, or no. 1. Reg 8.

Our preaching must be according to the persons before whome we preach.

Rome is called of Jerome, the purple whore of Babilon.

he is very homely, very quicke, and sharpe with the kyng, as these Cardinals will take weil vppon them. He sayth that a king is an odious word, and touched the place how God was offended with the Israelites for calling for a king. Very lightly he seemeth to set foorth the title of a king: As though he should meane: What is a king? what should a king take vpon him to redresse matters of religion? It pertayneth to our holy father of Rome. A king is a name, and a title rather suffred of God, as an euell thing, then allowed as a good thing. Calling this to remembraunce, it was an occasion that I spake altogether before. Now I will aunswer to this. For the aunswere I must somewhat rip the eight chapter of the first booke of the kinges. And that I may haue grace. &c.

TO come to the opening of this matter, I must begin at the chapter: that the vnlearned (although I am sure, here be a great many wel learned) may the better come to the vnderstanding of the matter: *Factum est cum senuisset Samuel, fecit filios suos iudices populi. &c* It came to passe when Samuel was stricken in age, he made his sonnes iudges ouer Israel. Of Samuell, I might fetch a processe a far of, of the story of Elcana, who was his father, and who was his mother. Elcana his father had two wiues, Anna, and Phenenna, and did not put them away, as men do now a dayes. There was debate betwene these two wiues. Phenenna in the doing of sacrifice, embraided Anna because she was barrē and not fruitful. I might take here occasion to entreat of the duty betwene man and wife, which is a holy religion, but not religiously kept. But I wil not enter into that matter at this time. Wel in processe of time, God made Anna fruitfull through her deuout prayer. She brought forth Samuel, who by the ordinãce of God was made the high priest. Father Samuel a good mã, a singular example, and a singular patron, a man alone, few such men as father Samuel was. To be shorte, he was now come to age, he was an olde man, an impotent man, not able to goe from place to place to minister iustice, he elected and chose two suffragans, two coadiutors, two cohelpers, I mean not hallowers of belles, nor christeners of belles: that is a po-

1. Reg. 8

Anna the mother of Samuell.

Samuel being aged had to helpe him two suffraganes.

pish suffraganship. He made them to help him to discharge his office. He chose his two sonnes rather then other, because he knew thē to be well brought vp in vertue & learning. It was not for any carnall affection, he cared not for his renowne, or reuenues, but he appointed them for the ease of the people, the one for to supply his place in Bethsabe, and the other in Bethlem. As we haue now in England, for the welth of the realme two lords Presidents. Surely it is wel done, & a godly order. I would there were a third in an other place. For the ease of his people, good father Samuel, & to discharge his office in places where he could not come himself, he set his two sonnes in office with him, as his suffragans, & as his coadiutors. Here I might take occasion to treat, what olde and impotent bishops should do, what old preachers should do, whē they come to impotencie, to ioine with them, preachers, not belhallowers, and to depart part of their liuing with them. I might haue dilated this matter at large. But I am honestly preuented of this cōmon place, & I am very glad of it. It was very well handled the last sonday. They that will not for the office sake receiue other, regard more the fleese then the flocke. Father Samuell regarded not his reuenues. Our Lord geue them grace to be affected as he was, and to folow him. &c. Though I say that I would with moe Lord presidents. I meane not, that I would haue prelates Lords presidentes, nor that Lord bishops should be Lord presidents. As touching that, I sayd my minde & conscience the last yeare. And although it is sayd, *Præsint*, it is not meant that they should be Lord presidents, the office of a presidentship is a ciuil office, & it cannot be, that one man shal discharge both well. It followeth in the text: *Nō ambulauerunt filij eius in vijs eius. &c*. His sonnes walked not in his wayes. Here is the matter, here ye see the goodnes of Samuell, howe whē he was not able to take the paines himself, for their own ease, he appointed thē iudges nere vnto thē, as it were in the farthest parts of his realme, to haue iustice rightly ministred. But what followed? Though Samuel were good, & his childrē wel brought vp, loke what the world can do. Ah crafty world: whom shall not this world corrupt & deceiue at one time or o-

Old bishops should haue good preachers to help them.

Amen.

Bishops ought not to be Lord presidentes.

The world is crafty and deceitfull.

ther

ther? Samuel thought his sonnes should haue proued wel, but yet Samuels sonnes walked not in their fathers way. Why? what the? Is the sonne alwayes bound to walk in the fathers way? No ye must not take it for a generall rule. Al sonnes ar not to be blamed, for not walking in their fathers wayes. Ezechias did not follow the steps of his father Ahaz, and was wel allowed in it. Iosias the best king that euer was in Iewry, reformed his fathers wayes, who walked in worldly policy. In his youth he toke away all idolatry, & purged his realme of it, & set a good order in all his dominions, & wrastled with idolatry. And although his father or his grandfather Manasses (it makes no matter whether) repented him in the end, he had no time to reforme thinges, he left it to his sonne to be done. Iosias began, & made an alteration in his childhood, he turned all vpsidowne, he would suffer no idolatry to stand: therefore you must not take it for a generall rule, that the sonne must euer walke in his fathers wayes. Here I will renewe, that which I sayd before of the stifnecked Iewes, the rebellious people (that is their title) they neuer spake so rebelliously, as to say, they would not receiue any alteration, till their kyng came to age. Much lesse we englishmen (if there be any such in England) may be ashamed. I wonder with what conscience folke can heare such things, and allow it. This Iosias made a notable alteration, and therfore take it not for a general rule, that the sonne shall alwayes walke in his fathers wayes. Thincke not because he was slaine in bataile, that God was displeased wt him: for herein God shewed his goodnes to him wonderfully, who would not suffer him to see the captiuitie that he would bring vpon the Israelites. He would not haue him to haue the sight, the feling, & the beholding of his plage, he suffred him to be taken away before, and to be slayne of the king of Egipt. Wherfore a iust man must be glad when he is taken from miserie: *Iustus si morte præoccupatus fuerit, in refrigerio erit.* If a iust man be preuented with death, it shall be to his reliefe. He must thinke that he is one of those, whom the world is not worthy to haue, it came of a singuler goodnes of God, y he was by death deliuered from the sight of y captiuitie. Therfore take it not for a general rule, y y sonnes be alwayes

Euery sonne is not bound to walke in his fathers wayes

4. Reg. 18.
4. Reg. 21, 23.

Iosias was but viij yeare old when he begā to raigne.

Englishmen are sturdier thē the Iewes.

Iosias was slaine in battail by Pharao necho king of Egipt, at Magiddo.

4. Reg 23.

waies bold to walk in thy fathers waies: *Nolite in præceptis patrũ veſtrorũ incedere.* Walk not in the cõmaũdements of your fathers: for ſo it is ſaid in an other place of ſcripture. It is ſpokẽ to the reproch of Samuels ſonnes, ý they walked not in his way, for he was a good mã. A wõderfull thing ý theſe children being ſo well brought vp, ſhould ſo fall and be corrupt. If the deuill can preuaile and hath power againſt them, that had ſo godly education, what vauntage hath he at them that be brought vp in iniquity and couetouſnes? It is a prouerbe that *Magiſtratus virum commonſtrat.* Office & authority ſheweth what a man is. A man knoweth not himſelfe, till he be tryed. Many there be that being without office, can rebuke maieſtrates, and finde fault with men that be in office and preeminence. After when it commeth to their chaunce, to come to office themſelues, then they haue taken out a new leſſon, *Cũ eſſem paruulus, ſapiebam vt paruulus:* When I was a childe I ſauoured as a childe. They wil do then as other men do, they are come to haue experience to be practitioners. The maides child is euer beſt taught: for he ý ſtandeth vpright in office, he is the fellow. Samuel would neuer haue thought ý his ſonnes ſhould haue bene ſo corrupted. It is a perilous thing, a daũgerous ſtate to be a iudge. They felt the ſmacke of this world, a perilous thing: & therfore Chriſoſtome ſayth: *Miror ſi aliquis rectorum ſaluabitur:* I maruail (ſayth he) that any ruler can be ſaued. If the perill were well conſidered, mẽ would not be ſo deſirous as they be: the world hath many ſubtile ſleights, it is a craftie thing, and very deceitfull, a corrupter, and who is it, whome the world doth not corrupt and blinde at one time or other? What was the way they walked? *Declinauerunt poſt auaritiam.* That is one, They ſtoped after gaines, turned aſide after lucre. What followed? *Acceperunt munera.* They toke rewardes, giftes, bribes (I ſhould call them) for that is their right name. *Peruerterunt iudicium:* They turned iuſtice vpſidowne. Either they would geue wrong iudgement, or els put of, & delay poore mens matters. Theſe were their waies, here is the deuils genealogie. A gradation of the deuyls making. This is *ſcala inferni*, the ladder of hel. I told you before of *ſcala cœli*, the ladder of heauen. I would you ſhould not forget it.

Auctority a-tereth maners.

Authority ſheweth what a man is.

A maides child is euer beſt taught.

Rewardes is a fayer word, de thẽ bribes.

Scala inferni.

Scala cœli.

The

The steppes therof are set forth in the tenth to the Romains. The first is preaching, then hearing, then beleuing, and last of all Saluation. *Scala cæli* is a preaching matter I tell you, and not a malling matter, Gods instrument of saluation, is preaching. Here I moue you my Lordes, not to be grædy and outragious in enhaunsing, and raysing of your rentes, to the minishing of the office of saluatiõ. It would pity a mans hart to heare that, that I heare of the state of Cambridge, what it is in Oxford I can not tell. There be few do study diuinity, but so many as of necessity must furnish the Colledges. For their liuinges be so smale, and victayles so deare, that they tarry not there, but go other where to seeke liuinges, and so they go about. Now there be a fewe gentlemen, and they study a litle diuinity. Alas what is that: it will come to passe that we shall haue nothing but a litle English diuinity, that will bring the Realme into a very barbarousnes, and vtter decay of learning. It is not that iwys, that will keepe out the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. Here I will make a supplication, that ye would bestow so much to the fynding of scholers, of good wittes, of poore mens sonnes, to exercise the office of saluation, in relieuing of scholers, as ye were wont to bestow in pilgrimage matters, in trentals, in masses, in pardons, in purgatory matters. Ye bestowed that liberally, bountifully, but this was not well spent. You had a zeale, but not *secundũ scientiam*, not according to knowledge. You may be sure if you bestow your good on this wise, ye shall bestow it well to support and vphold Gods word, wherein ye shall please God. I require no more, but that ye bestow so much godly, as ye were wont to bestow vngodly. It is a reasonable petition, for Gods sake, loke vpon it, I say no more. There be none now but great mens sonnes in Colledges, and their fathers loke not to haue them preachers, so euery way this office of preaching is pinched at. I will speake no more of *Scala cæli*. But I am sure this is *Scala inferni*, the right way to hell, to be couetous, to take bribes, and peruert iustice. If a iudge shoulde aske me the way to hell, I would shew him this way. First let him be a couetouse man, let his hart be poysoned with

The study of diuinity decayed in Cambridge.

Englishe diuinity.

They that haue least neede, haue most helpe.

The ready way for a iudge to go to the deuill in hell.

couetous-

couetousnes. Then let him go a litle further and take bribes, and last peruert iudgement. Lo, here is the mother and the daughter, and the daughters daughter. Auarice is ỹ mother, she bringes forth bribe taking, and bribetaking peruertyng of iudgement. There lackes a fourth thing to make vp the messe, which so God help me if I were iudge should be *Hangū tuum*, a tiburne tippet to take with him, and it were the iudge of the Kinges bench, my Lord chiefe iudge of England, yea, and it were my Lord Chancelour himselfe, to Tiburne with him. There was within these iii. yeares a certayne widow which sodainly, was attached, had to prison, indited, condemned, and there were certaine learned men that visited her in the prison. Oh I would ye would resort to prisons. A commēdable thing in a Christen realme, I would wishe there were Curates for prisons, that we might say, ỹ Curat of Newgate the Curat of the Flete, and I would haue thē well waged for their labour. It is a holy day worke to visite the prisoners, for they be kept frō sermōs. There was that resorted to this woman, who, whē she came to prison, was all on her beades, and nothing els, a popishe womā, and sauered not of Iesu Christ. In proces she was so applied that she talked *Quā suauis est dominus*. She had such a sauour, such a swetenes & fælyng that she thought it long to ỹ day of execution. She was with Christ already, as touching fayth. She had such a desire that she sayd with S. Paule, *Cupio dissolui, et esse cum christo*. I desire to be rid, and to be with Christ. The worde of God had so wrought in her. When she was brought to punishment, she desired to confesse her fault, she toke of her death, that she was giltlesse in that thing she suffered for, and her neighbours would haue borne her witnes in the same. She was alwayes an honest ciuill woman, her neighbours would haue gone on her purgation a great way. They would nedes haue her confesse, then saith she. I am not gilty, would ye haue me to make me gilty, where I am not? Yet for all thys, she was a trespasser, she had done a great offence. But before I go forward wyth thys, I must first tell you a tale. I heard a good while agoe, a tale of one (I sawe the man that tolde me the tale not long a-

goe.

A tiburne tippet for bribe takers.

A bolde and playne speche of a preacher.

A holy day worke to visit the prisoners.

A widow that being condemned was after committed to Christ.

goe in this auditory.) He hath trauelled in mo countreyes the one. He tolde me that there was once a pretour in Rome, Lord Mayer of Rome, a rich man one of the richest marchauntes in all the City, and sodaynely he was cast in the castle Aungel. It was heard of, and euery man, whispered in an others eare. What hath he done? Hath he kylled any man? No. Hath he medled with Alam, our holy fathers marchaundise? No. Hath he counterfayted our holy Fathers Bulles? No. For these were hie treasons. One rowned an other in the eare and sayde: *Erat diues*. He was a riche man, A great fault. Here was a goodly pray for that holy Father. It was in Pope Julius tyme, he was a great warriour. This pray would helpe him to maintayne his warres, a iolly pray for our holy Father. So this woman was *Diues*, She was a rich woman, she had her lands by the Shiriffes nose. He was a Gentleman of a long nose. Such a cup, such a couer. She would not depart from her owne. This Shyriffe was a couetuous man, a worldly man. The iudge at the enpanelyng of the quest, had his graue lokes, and charged them wyth this. It was the kinges matter, loke well vpon it. When it makes for their purpose, they haue the King the King in their mouthes. Well, somewhat there was, there was walking of Angelles betwene them. I would wishe that of such a iudge in England now, we might haue the skinne hanged vp. It were a goodly signe, the signe of the iudges skinne. It should be Lots wyfe, to all iudges that should folow after. Ye see here that Lady couetousnes is a fruitfull woman, euer childing, and euer bringing forth her fruites. It is a true saying, *radix omnium malorum auaritia*. Couetousnes is the rote of all wickednes. One will say peraduenture, you speake vnsemely, and inconueniently, so to be against the officers, for taking of rewardes in doyng pleasures. Ye consider not the matter to the bottome. Their offices be bought for great summes, now how should they receiue their money agayne, but by bribing, ye would haue them vndone. Some of them gaue CC. pounde, some v.C. pounde, some two M. pounde. And how shall they gather vp this money agayne, but by helping

A rich marchaunt cast into the Castell Aungel.

No man may traffique Alam but by the Popes licence.

Shyriffes commōly are couetuous officers and therefore haue long noses.

The signe of the Judges skinne.

Lady couetousnes is a childing woman.

He that byeth deare, must sell therafter.

ping themselues in their office. And is it so trow ye? Are ciuill offices bought for mony? Lord God who would haue thought that? Let vs not be to hasty to credit it. For the we haue ỳ old prouerbe, *omnia venalia Romæ*, all thinges are sold for money at Rome, and Rome is come home to our owne doores. If they bie, they must needes sell, for it is wittely spoken: *vendere iure potest, emerat ille prius*, he may lawfully sell it, he bought it before. God forfend that euer any such enormity should be in England, that ciuill offices should be bought and sold, where as men should haue them geuen for their worthines. I would the kinges maiesty should seeke thorow his realme for mete men and able men worthy to be in office, yea and geue them liberally for their paynes, and rather geue them money to take the office in hand, then they to geue money for it. Thys bying of offices is a making of bribery, it is an enducing and enforsing, and compelling of men to bribery. Holy scripture qualifieth the officers, and sheweth what maner of men they should be, and of what qualities, *Viros fortes*. Some translations haue *Viros sapientes*. The Englishe translation hath it very well. Men of actiuity that haue stomakes to do their office, they must not be milksops, nor white liuered knights, they must be wise, harti, hardy, men of a good stomacke. Secondarily, he qualifieth them with the feare of God. He saith they must be *timentes deum*, fearing God. For if he feare God, he shalbe no bribyer, nor peruerter of iudgement, but faithfull. Thirdly they must be chosen officers *in quibus est veritas*, in whom is truth, if he say it, it shall be done. Fourthly, *qui oderunt auaritiam*, hating couetousnes, far from it. He will not come nere it that hateth it. It is not he that will geue. v.C. pounde for an office. With these qualities Gods wisdome would haue magistrates to be qualified. This commeth from the deuils consistory to pay v.C. pounde for an office. If they pay so much, it must needes folow that they take bribes, that they be bribetakers. Such as be mete to beare office, seeke the out, hire them, geue them competent and liberall fees, that they shall not neede to take any bribes. And if ye be a selling ciuill offices, ye are as they which sell their benefices, and so

Mete men are worthy to be put in office.

It is a bribery to bye offices.

Bying of offices for money.

we shall haue *omnia venalia*, all thynges bought for mony. I marueil the ground gapes not and deuours vs, holbeit we ought not to marueil, surely it is the great lenity of God that suffers it. Oh Lord in what case are we. If the great men in Turky shoulde vse in their religion of Mahomet, to sell as our patrons commonly sell benefices here (the office of preaching, the office of saluation) it should be taken as an intollerable thing, the Turke would not suffer it in his common welth. Patrons be charged to see the office done, and not to seeke a lucre and a gaine by his patronship. There was a patrone in England (when it was) that had a benefice fallen into his hād, and a good brother of myne came vnto him and brought him xxx. apples in a dishe, and gaue them to his man to cary them to his maister. It is like he gaue one to his mā for his labour, to make vp the game, and so there was xxxi. This man commeth to his maister & presented him with the dishe of apples, saying: For such a man hath sent you a dishe of fruite, and desireth you to be good vnto him for such a benefice. Tush, tush, (quoth he) this is no apple matter, I will none of his apples, I haue as good as these (or as he hath any) in myne owne orchard. The man came to the Priest agayne, and tolde hym what his maister sayd. Then quod the priest, desire him yet to proue one of them for my sake, he shall finde them much better then they looke for. He cut one of them, and found x. peeces of golde in it. Mary quod he, this is a good apple. The Priest standing not farre of, hearing what the gentleman sayd, cryed out and answered, they are all one apples I warrant you for they grew all on one tree, and haue all one taste. Well he is a good felow, let him haue it quod the patron. &c. Get you a graft of this tree, and I warrant you it shall stand you in better steede then all S. Paules learning. Well let patrons take heede, for they shall answere for all the soules that perish through their default. There is a saying that there be a great many in England that say there is no soule, that beleue not in the immortality of mans soule, that thinke it is not eternall, but like a dogs soule, that thinke there is neyther heauen nor hell. Oh Lord what a waighty matter is this? What

Selling of offices, and selling of benefices is all one.

The Turke would not suffer that we do.

The patrons duty in bestowing of his benefice.

A dainty dishe of Apples.

A graft of such apples will bring forth fruite quickly.

A lamentable thing in a Christen common welth: I cannot tell what they say, but I perceiue by their workes that they thinke so, or els they would neuer do as they do. These sellers of offices shew, that they beleue that there is neither hell nor heauen. It is taken for a laughing matter, well, I will go on. Now to the chapter. The children of Israell came to Samuel and sayde: *Senuisti*, Thou art growen into age geue vs a king. Thy sonnes walke not in thy wayes. What a heuines was this to father Samuels hart, to heare that his sonnes (whom he had so well brought vp) should swarue from his wayes that he had walked in. Father Samuel goeth to God to know his will & pleasure in this matter. God answered: let them haue a king. They haue not cast thee away but me, that I should not raigne ouer them. This is their ground that say a king is an odious thing, and not acceptable before the face of God. Thus they force and violent this place to make for their purpose, where no such thing is ment. Shew the Israelites (saith God) and testify to them a kinges autority, and what a king is, and what a king will do. If that will not perswade them, I will not heare them hereafter, when they shall cry vnto me. I must needes confesse that the Iewes trespalled against God in asking a kyng: But here is the matter, in what thing their offence stode, whether absolutely in asking a king, or in any other circumstance. It was in a circumstance. They sayd not aske a king of God: but make vs a king to iudge vs, as all other nacions haue. They would haue a king of their owne swinge, and of their owne election, as though the past not of God. In an other point there was pride. They would be like the Heathen, and the iudges vnder kynges as they were. Thirdly, they offended God because they asked a king to the iniury and wrong of good father Samuell to depose him, so this was a wrong towarde Samuel. It was not with Samuel and hys children Joell and Abia, like as with Elye and hys children, which were Ophin and Phineas. They were cruell, who with hokes taking the flesh out of the pottes when that sacrifice was offered to God, brought the people into a contempt of Gods word.

I wirked matter to sell benefices.

The Iewes desire to haue a king, wherewith God is angry.

The offence of the Iewes in asking of a king.

A comparison betwene Samuel and hys sonnes, and Ely and hys sonnes.

worde. They were lecherers. Their sinne was manifestly and notoriously knowne: but their Father Ely knowing and hearing of it, did blame them, but nothing to the purpose, he did not earnestly and substancially chastise them, and therefore he was iustly deposed of God. The sinnes of Samuels sonnes were not knowne, they were not so notorious, wherefore it was not with father Samuel as it was with Elye, his sonnes faultes were taking of bribes, and peruerting of iudgementes. Ye know that bribery is a secret fault, and therefore it was not knowne. It was done vnder a coloure and a pretence of iustice, hidly and couertly done. Therefore because it stode in bribes it was not like in Samuel as in Ely. It is a dangerous thyng to be in office, for *qui attingit picem, coinquinabitur ab ea.* He that medleth wyth pitch is like to be spotted with it. Bribes may be assembled to pitch, for euen as pitch doth polute their handes that medle with it: so bribes will bring you to peruerting of iustice. Beware of pitch, you iudges of the worlde, bribes will make you peruert iustice. Why, you will say, We touch none. No mary. But my Mistres your wyfe hath a fine finger she toucheth it for you, or els you haue a seruaunt a *Muneribus*, he wyll say, if you will come to my Maister and offer hym a yoke of Oxen, you shall speede neuer the worse, but I thinke my Maister will take none, when he hath offered them to the Maister, then comes a nother seruant and sayes: If you will bring them to the Clarke of the kitchen, you shall be remembred the better. This is a Frierlly fashion that will receiue no money in their handes but will haue it put vpon their sleues. A goodly rag of Popishe religion. They be like obseruant Fryers, they will not be sene to receiue no bribes themselues, but haue other to receiue for the. Though Samuels sonnes were priuy bribers and kept the thing very close, yet the cry of the people brought it to Samuel. It was a vile kinde of sinne. For men in this point would face it and brace it, make a shew of vpright dealing, when they be most guilty. Neuertheles this geare came out. Oh wicked sonnes y brought both their father to deposition, & themselues to shame.

Elyes sonnes were leacherers and manifest offenders.

Samuels sons were bribers, & peruerters of iudgement.

Bribes are like pitche.

Anglice a receiuer of his maisters bribes.

A Frierly fashion in receiuing of bribes, a goodly rag of popishe religiō.

When Samuel heard of their fault, he went not about to excuse their faultes. He woulde not beare wyth his sonnes, he would not *communicare peccatis alienis*, be partaker wyth hys sonnes offences, he sayd: *Ego senui, ecce filij mei vobiscum sunt.* As sone as he heard of it, he deliuered hys sonnes to the people to be punished. He went not about to excuse them, nor sayd not: thys is the first tyme, beare with them, but presented them by and by to the people saying: Lo here they be, take them, doth wyth them according to their desertes. Oh, I would there were no more bearers of other mens sinnes, then this good father Samuel was. I heard of late of a notable bloudshed. *Audio* saith S. Paule, and so do I. I know it not, but I heare of it. There was a searcher in London, which executing his office, displeased a marchaunt man, in so much that when he was doing his office, they were at wordes, the marchaunt man threatned him, the searcher sayde, the king should not lose his custome. The marchaunt goes home and sharpes hys woodknife, and comes agayne and knockes hym on the head, and killes hym. They that tolde me the tale say it is wincked at, they loke thorow their fingers and will not see it. Whether it be taken up wyth a pardon or no, I cannot tell, but this I am sure, and if ye beare with such matters, the deuill shall beare you away to hell. Bloudshed and murder would haue no bearing. It is a haynous thyng bloudshedding and especially voluntary murder, and pretensed murder. For in Numery God saith, it poluteth the whole realme. *Poluitur illa terra. &c. et non potest expiari sine sanguine.* The land cannot be purged nor clensed agayne till his bloud be shed that shed it. It is the office of a king to see such murderers punished wyth death, *non frustra gestat gladiū.* What will you make of a king? he beareth a sworde before him, not a Peacockes fether. I go not about to stirr you now to cruelty, but I speake against bearing of bloudshed. This bearing must be loked vpon. In certaine causes of murther, such great circumstaunces may be, that the king may pardon a murther. But if I were worthy to be of counsaile, or if I were asked mine aduise, I would not haue ỳ king to pardon a voluntary mur-

Samuell would not be partaker of his sonnes offēces.

This marchāt is rich, and is yet aliue.

Wilfull murther cannot be purged without bloud shedding.

murther, a pretensed murther. I can tell where one man slew an other in a townshipp, and was attached, vpon the same, xij. men were impaneled, the man had frendes, the Shrieffe laboured the Bench, the xij. men stacke at it and sayd, except he would disburse xij. crownes they would finde him giltie. Meanes were found that the xij. crownes was payde. The Quest comes in and sayes, not giltie. Here was not giltie for xij. crownes. This is bearing, and some of the Bench were hanged, they were well serued. This makes men bolde to doe murther and slaughter. We should reserue murthering till we come to our enemies, and the king bid vs fight. He that woulde bestirre him then, were a prettie fellowe in deede. Crownes? If their crownes were shauen to the shoulders, they were serued well inough. I knew where a woman was got with childe, and was ashamed at the matter, and went into a secrete place, where she had no woman at her trauell, and was deliuered of three children at a byrth. She wrong their neckes, and cast them into a water, and so kilde her children. Sodainly she was gaunt againe, and her neighbours suspecting the matter, caused her to be examined, and she graunted all. Afterward she was raigned at the barre for it, and dispatched and found not giltie, through bearing of frendes, and bribing of the Judge. Where at the same Sessions an other poore woman was hanged for stealing a fewe rags of a hedge, that were not worth a crowne. There was a certaine gentleman, a professor of the worde of God, (he sped neuer the better for that, ye may be sure) who was accused for murthering of a man, whereupon he was cast into prison. And by chaunce as he was in prison, one of his frendes came vnto him for to visite him, and he declared to his frend that he was neuer giltie in the murthering of the man. So he went his wayes, the gentleman was arrained and condemned, and as he went to his execution, he saw his frendes seruaunt, and sayd vnto him: Commend me to thy maister, and I pray thee tell him, I am the same man still I was, when he was with me. And if thou tary a while, thou shalt see me die. There was sute made for this mans pardon,

A tale of a lewd Jury, which were in deede bribers.

Shauing of Crownes.

A strange and wicked murder.

The history of a gentleman.

but it could not be gotten. Belike the Shrieffes or some other bare him no good will. But he dyed for it. And afterward I being in the Tower, hauing leaue to come to the Lieuetenauntes table, I heard him say that there was a man hanged afterward, that killed the same man, for whom this gentleman was put to death. O Lorde, what bearing, what bolstering of naughty matters is this in a Christen realme? I desire your Maiestie to remedy the matter, and God graunt you to see redresse in this realme in your owne person. Although my Lorde Protector, I doubt not, and the rest of the Counsell doe in the meane while, all that lyeth in them to redresse thinges. I would such as be rulers, noble men and maisters should be at this point with their seruauntes to certifie them on this sort: If any man goe about to doe you wrong, I will doe my best to helpe you in your right. But if thou breake the law, thou shalt haue iustice. If ye will be manquellers, murtherers, and transgressours, looke for no bearing at my handes. A straunge thing. What neede we in the vengeance to burden our selues with other mens sinnes? Haue we not sinnes inowe of our owne? What neede haue I to burden my selfe with other mens sinnes? I haue burdens and two heapes of sinnes. One heape of knowen sinnes, an other of vnknowen sinnes. I hap neede to say: *ab occultis meis munda me Domine*: O Lorde deliuer me from my hidden, and my vnknowen sinnes. Then if I beare with other mens sinnes, I must say: Deliuer me from my other mens sinnes. A straunge saying: from my other mens sinnes. Who beareth with other folkes offences, he communicateth with other folkes sinnes. Men haue sinnes inough of their owne, although they beare not and bolster vp other men in their noughtines. This bearing, this bolstering, and looking thorow their fingers, is nought. What the fayre happe should I (or any els) encrease my burden. My other mens sinnes forgeue me O Lorde. A straunge language, they haue bid sinnes of their owne inough, although they beare not with giltines of other mens sinnes. Oh father Samuell would not beare his owne sonnes, he offered his owne sonnes to punishment,

Corruption in officers.

A good aduertisement to all that are in authoritie.

Enery man shall be sufficiently laden with bearing of his owne sinnes.

punishment, and sayd: *Ecce filij mei vobiscum sunt*, euen at the first time he sayd: Loe, here they be, I discharge my selfe, and take them vnto you: and as for my part, *præstò sum loqui coram Domino, & Christo eius*: I am here ready to answere for my selfe before the Lord and his anointed. Behold here I am, record of me before the Lord: *Vtrũ cuiusquã bouem. &c.* whether I haue take any mans Oxe, any mans Asse, or whether I haue done any man wrong, or hurt any man, or taken any bribes at any mans hand. I can commend the Englishe translation that doth interprete *munera*, bribes, not giftes. They answered: nay forsooth, we know no such thinges in you. *Testis est mihi Deus*, sayth he, God is witnesse, *quòd nihil inueneritis in manu mea*, that you haue found nought in my handes. Few such Samuels are in England, nor in the world. Why did Samuell this? mary to purge him selfe, he was enforced to it, for he was wrongfully deposed.

Samuell purgeth him selfe of taking any bribes.

Then by this ye may perceaue the fault of the Iewes, for they offended not God in asking of a king, but for asking for a king, to the wronging and deposition of good father Samuell. If after Samuels death the people had asked of God a king, they had not faulted: but it is no small fault to put an innocent out of his office. King Dauid likewise commaunded his people to be numbred, and therewith offended God grieuously. Why? might he not know the number of his people? Yes, it was not the numbring of the people that offended God, for a king may number his people. But he did it of a pride, of an elation of minde, not according to Gods ordinaunce, but as hauing a trust in the nũber of his men, this offended God. Likewise the Iewes asked a king, and therwith they offended not God, but they asked him with such circumstances, that God was offended with thẽ. It is no small fault to put a iust man out of his office, & to depose him vnworthely. To chuse a king cõtrarying ỳ ordinance of God, is a casting away of God, & not of a king. Therfore doubt not, but ỳ title of a king is a lawfull thing, is a lawful title, as of other Magistrates. Only let ỳ kinges take hede ỳ they do, as it becõmeth kinges to do, ỳ they do their office wel. It is a great

A great fault to wrong an innocent.

A king is a great & chargeable office.

thing, a chargeable thing. Let them beware that they do not *communicare peccatis alienis*, that they bear not with other mens faultes, for they shall geue a straite account for all that perisheth through their negligence. Wherefore now what this text meaneth. It is written in the last of Iudicum: *In diebus illis non erat rex in Israel*: In those dayes there was no king in Israell, euery man did that which seemed right in his owne eyes. Men were then allowed to doe what they would. When men may be allowed to do what they will, then it is good to haue no king at all. Here is a wonderfull matter, that vnpreaching prelates should be suffred so long. They can alledge for them selues vij. C. yeares. This while the realme had bene as good to haue no king. Likewise these bribing Iudges haue bene suffred of a long time, and then it was *Quasi non fuisset rex in Anglia*: To suffer this is as much to say, there is no king in England. It is the dutie of a king to haue all states set in order to doe their office. I haue troubled you too long, I will make an end. Blessed be they that beare the word of God, but so that they followe it and keepe it in credite, in memory, not to deprauе it and slaunder it, and bring the Preachers out of credite, but that followe it in their life, and liue after it. He graunt you all that blessing that made both you and me. Amen.

vnpreaching prelates.

The sixt Sermon of M. Latimer, preached before K. Edward. Aprill. 12.



QVÆCVNQVE *scripta sunt, ad nostrã doctrinam scripta sunt*: All thinges that are written, they are written to be our doctrine. Rom. 15.

What doctrine is written for vs in the 8. Chapt. of the first booke of the kinges, I did partly shew vnto you (most honourable audience) this day seuennight, of that good man father Samuell, that good iudge, how good a man he was, what helpers, and coadiutors he toke vnto him, to haue his office well discharged. I tolde you also of the wickednesse of his sonnes, how they toke bribes, and liued wickedly, and by that meanes brought both their father, and them selues to deposition. And how the people did offend God in askíng a king in father Samuells time. And how father Samuell was put from his office, who deserued it not. I opened vnto you also how father Samuell cleared him selfe, that he knew not the faultes of his sonnes: he was no bearer with his sonnes, he was sory for it, when he heard it: but he would not beare with them in their wickednes: *Filij mei vobiscum sunt*: My sonnes are with you, sayth he. Do with them according to their desertes, I will not maintaine them, nor beare with them. After that he cleares him selfe at the kinges face, that the people had nothing to burthen him withall, neither money, nor money worth. In treating of that part, I chaunced to shew you, what I heard of a mã that was slaine, and I heare say it was not well taken. For sooth I entend not to empaire any mans estimation or honesty, and they that enforce it to that, enforce it not to my meaning. I sayd I heard but of such a thing, and

The fruites of a true Prophet.

toke occasion by that, that I heard, to speake against the thing, that I knew to be nought, that no man should beare with any man to the maintenance of voluntary, and prepensed murder. And I heare say since, the man was other wise an honest man, and they that spake for him, are honest men. I am inclinable inough to credite it. I spake not because I would haue any mans honesty impaired. Onely I did as S. Paule did, who hearing of the Corinthians, that there should be contentions and misorder among them, did write vnto them that he heard, and thereupon by occasion of hearing he set forth very wholesome doctrine of the Supper of the Lord. We might not haue lacked that doctrine I tell you. Be it so the Corinthians had no such contentions among them, as Paul wrote of. Be it so they had not misordered them selues, it was neither of, nor on, to that that Paule sayd. The matter lay in that, that vpon hearing he would take occasion to set out the good and true doctrine. So, I did not affirme it to be true that I heard, I spake it to aduertise you, to beware of bearing with wilfull and prepensed murther. I would haue nothing enforced against any man, This was mine intent and meaning. I do not know what ye call chaunce medly in the law, it is not for my study. I am a scholer in Scripture, in Gods boke: I study that. I know what voluntary murther is before God. If I shall fall out with a man, he is angry with me, and I with him, and lacking opportunitie and place, we shall put it of for that time: in the meane season I prepare my weapon and sharpe it against an other time, I swell and boyle in this passion towardes him, I seeke him, we medle together, it is my chaunce by reason my weapon is better then his, and so forth, to kill him, I geue him his deathes stroke, in my vengeance and anger. This call I voluntary murther in Scripture: what it is in the lawe I can not tell. It is a great sinne, and therefore I call it voluntary. I remember what a great Clearke writeth of this. *Omne peccatum adeo est voluntarium, vt nisi sit voluntarium nō sit peccatum:* Euery sinne (sayth he) is so voluntary, that if it be not voluntary, it can not be called sinne. Sinne is no actuall

Preachers by hearing are occasioned to speake against vice.

Voluntary murther misstermed chance medly.

Euery sinne is wilfull, or els it can not be called sinne.

actuall sinne, if it be not voluntary. I would we would all know our faultes and repent: that that is done, is done, it can not be called backe againe. God is mercifull, the king is mercifull, here we may repent, this is the place of repentaunce: when we are gone hence, it is to late then to repent. And let vs be content with such order as the Magistrates shall take. But sure it is a perilous thing to beare with any such matter. I tolde you what I heard say, I would haue no mans honesty empaired by my telling. I heard say since of an other murther, that a Spanyarde should kill an Englishe man and runne him through with his sword: they say he was a tall man. But I heare it not, that the Spanyarde was hanged for his labour. If I had, I would haue tolde you it too. They tell out as the tale goeth, about a whore. O Lorde what whoredome is vsed now a dayes. As I heare by the relation of honest men, which tell it not after a worldly sort, as though they reioyced at it, but heauily with heauy hartes, how God is dishonoured by whoredome in this Citie of London. Yea the bancke, when it slode, was neuer so common. If it be true that is tolde, it is marueil that it doth not sincke, and that the earth gapeth not, and swalloweth it vp. It is wonderfull that the Citie of London doth suffer such whoredome vnpunished. God hath suffred long of his great lenitie, mercy, and benignitie, but he will punishe sharpely at the length, if we do not repent. There is some place in London, as they say: Immunitie, impunitie, what should I call it? a priuiledged place for whoredome. The Lorde Mayor hath nothing to do there: the Shiriffes, they can not medle with it. And the Quest they do not enquire of it, and there men do bring their whores: yea, other mens wiues, and there is no reformation of it.

Wilfull murther may not be borne with all.

Whoredome is to be abhorred.

Places in the Citie of London exempted from the iurisdiction of the Mayor, are shamefully vsed.

There is such dycing houles also, they say, as hath not bene wont to be, where young gentlemen dice away their theft, and where dycing is, there are other follies also. For the loue of God let remedy be had, let vs wrastle and striue against sinne. Men of England in times past, when they would exercise themselues (for we must needes haue some recreation,

creation, our bodies can not endure without some exercise) they were wont to goe abroad in the fieldes a Shooting, but now it is turned into glossing, gulling, and whoring within the house. The Arte of Shooting hath bene in times past much estéemed in this realme, it is a gift of God that he hath geuē vs to excell all other nations withall, it hath bene Gods instrument wherby he hath geuen vs many victories against our enemies. But now we haue taken vp whoring in townes, in stead of Shooting in the fieldes. A wonderous thing, that so excellent a gift of God should be so little estéemed. I desire you my Lordes, euen as ye loue the honour, and glory of God, and entend to remoue his indignation, let there be sent forth some proclamation, some sharpe proclamation to the Justices of peace, for they doe not their duetie. Justices now be no Justices, there be many good actes made for this matter already. Charge them vpon their allegiance, that this singular benefite of God may be practised, and that it be not turned into bolling, glossing, and whoring within the townes: for they be negligent in executing these lawes of Shooting. In my time, my poore father was as diligent to teach me to Shoote, as to learne me any other thing, and so I thinke other men did their children. He taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bowe, and not to draw with strength of armes as other nations doe, but with strength of the body, I had my bowes bought me, according to my age and strength: as I encreased in them, so my bowes were made bigger and bigger: for men shall neuer Shoote well, except they be brought vp in it. It is a godly Arte, a wholesome kinde of exercise, and much commended in Physicke.

Shooting is a game commendable, but dicing is abhominable.

Shooting is commended of Marcilius Phicinus.

Marcilius Phicinus in his booke *de triplici vita* (it is a great while since I read him now) but I remember he commendeth this kinde of exercise, and sayth, that it wrestleth against many kindes of diseases. In the reuerence of God let it be continued. Let a proclamation goe forth, charging the Justices of peace, that they see such Actes and Statutes kept, as were made for this purpose.

I will to my matter. I intend this day to entreate of a peace

peece of ſcripture written in the beginning of the v. chapt. of Luke. I am occaſioned to take this place by a booke ſent to the Kinges Maieſtie that dead is, by Maiſter Pole. It is a text, that he doth greatly abuſe, for the ſupremacy. He rackes it, and violentes it, to ſerue for the maintenance of the Byſhop of Rome. And as he did enforce the other place, that I entreated of laſt, ſo dyd he enforce this alſo, to ſerue his matter. The ſtory is this.

Reynold Poole the Cardinall.

Our Sauiour Chriſt was come now to the bancke of the water of Genezareth. The people were come to him, and flocked about him, to heare him preach. And Ieſus tooke a bote that was ſtanding at the poole, it was Simons bote, and went into it. And ſitting in the bote he preached to them that were on the bancke. And when he had preached and taught them, he ſpake to Simon, and bad him launch out further into the deepe, and louſe his nettes, to catch fiſhe. And Symon made aunſwere, and ſayde: Maiſter, we haue laboured all night, but we caught nothing: howbeit at thy commaundement, becauſe thou biddeſt vs, we will go to it agayne. And ſo they did, and caught a great draught, a miraculous draught, ſo much that the net brake, and they called to their felowes that were by, for they had two boates to come to helpe them, and they came and filled both their botes ſo full, that they were nigh drowning.

Ieſus ſate in Simons bote.

Luke. 5.

This is the ſtory. That I may declare this text ſo, that it may be to the honour of God, and edification of your ſoules and myne both, I ſhall deſire you to helpe me with your prayer, in the which &c.

Factum eſt autem, (ſaith the text) *Cum turba irrueret in eum*. Saint Luke telles the ſtorie, and it came to paſſe, when the people preaſed vpon him, ſo that he was in perill to be caſt into the pond, they rushed ſo faſt vpon him, and made ſuch throng to him. A wonderous thing, what a deſire the people had in thoſe dayes to heare our ſauiour Chriſt preach: and the cauſe may be gathered of the latter end of the chapter that went before. Our Sauiour Chriſt had preached vnto them, and healed the ſicke folkes of ſuch diſeaſes & maladies

Luke. 4.

as

as they had: and therefore the people would haue retayned him still. But he made them answere, and sayd: *Et aliis ciuitatibus oportet me euangelizare regnum dei, nam in hoc missus sum.* I must preach the kingdom of God to other Cities also, I must shew them my fathers will: for I came for that purpose. I was sent to preach the worde of God. Our Sauiour Christ sayde, how he must not tary in one place: for he was sent to the worlde to preach euery where. Is it not a mernailous thing, that our vnpreaching prelates can reade this place. and yet preach no more than they do. I maruell that they can go quietly to bed, and see how he allureth them with his example to be diligent in their office. Here is a godly lesson also, how our Sauiour Christ fled from glory. If these ambitious persons, that climbe to honour by bywalkes inordinatly, would consider this example of Iesus Christ, they should come to more honor then they do, for whē they seeke honour by such bywalkes, they come to confusion: honour folowth them that flee from it. Our sauiour Christ, gat him away early in the morning, and went vnto the wildernes. I would they would folow this example of Christ, and not seeke honour by such bywalkes as they do. But what did the people: when he had hid himselfe, they smelled him out in the wildernes, and came vnto him by flockes, and folowed him a great number. But where reade you that a great number of Scribes and Pharisees, and Bishoppes followed him. There is a Doctor that writeth of his place, his name is Doctor Gorrham, Nicholas Gorrham, I knew him to be a Schole Doctor a great while a goe, but I neuer knew him to be an interpreter of Scripture till now of late: he sayth thus, *maior deuotio in laicis, et vetulis, quàm in clericis. &c.* There is more deuotion sayth he, in laye folke, and olde wiues, and in these simple folke and vulgar people, then in the Clarkes: they be better affected to the worde of God then those that be of the Cleargy. I mernaile not at the sentence, but I mernaile to finde such a sentence in such a Doctor. If I shoulde say so much, it would be sayde to me, that it is an euill byrde that defiles his owne nest, and *Nemo*

laedit nisi

Christ preached the kingdome of God.

An example of Christ for our vnpreaching Prelates.

Our Sauiour Christ fled from glory.

Honour folowe-eth them that flie from it.

The common people smelled Christ out in the wildernes, & followed hym thither, but so did not the Scribes, the Pharisees, nor the Bysshoppes.

Laditur niſi à ſeipſo, There is no man hurt, but of his owen ſelf. There was verified the ſaying of our Sauiour Chriſt which he ſpake in an other place. *Vbicunque fuerit cadauer, ibi congregabuntur aquile*, Whereſoeuer a dead carion is, thither will the Egles gather. Our Sauiour Chriſt compares hymſelfe to a dead carrion: for where the carrion is, there will the Egles be, and though it be an euil ſmell to vs, and ſtinkes in a mans noſe, yet it is a ſweete ſmell to the Egles, they will ſeeke it out. So the people ſought out Chriſt, they ſmelt his ſauour, he was a ſweete ſmell to them. He is *Odor vitæ ad vitam*, the ſmell of life to life. They flocked about him like Egles. Chriſt was the carrion, and the people were the Egles. They had no pleaſure to heare the Scribes, and the Phariſees, they ſtanke in their noſe, their doctrine was vnſauery, it was of Loliones, of decimations, of Anets ſeade, and Cummyn and ſuch geare. There was no comfort in it for ſore conſciences, there was no conſolation for wounded ſoules, there was no remedy for ſinnes, as was in Chriſtes doctrine. His doctrine eaſed the burden of the ſoule: it was ſwete to the common people, and ſower to the Scribes. It was ſuch comfort and pleaſure to them, that they came flocking about him: wherefore came they? *Vt audirent verbum dei*, It was a good comming. They came to heare the word of God. It was not to be thought that they came all of one mynde to heare the word of God. It is likely that in ſo great a multitude ſome came of curioſitie, to heare ſome nouelles, & ſome came ſmelling a ſweete ſauour, to haue conſolation and comfort of Gods worde: for we cannot be ſaued without hearing of the worde. It is a neceſſary way to ſaluation. We cānot be ſaued without fayth, and fayth commeth by hearing of the worde. *Fides ex auditu*. And how ſhall they heare without a preacher? I tell you it is the foteſteps of the ladder of heauen of our ſaluation. There muſt be preachers if we looke to be ſaued. I tolde you of this gradation before in the tenth to the Romaynes. Conſider it well. I had rather ye ſhoulde come of a naughty mynde, to heare the worde of God, for nouelty, or for curioſitie to heare ſome paſtime, then to be away.

Chriſt cōpares himſelfe to a dead carrion.

The Phariſees doctrine was voyde of remedy for ſinne.

Faith commeth by hearing of the worde of God.

The foteſteps of the ladder of ſaluation.

I

I had rather ye should come as the tale is, by the gentlewoman of London. One of her neighbours met her in the streate, and sayde mistres, whether go ye: Mary sayd she, I am going to S. Thomas of Acres to the Sermon, I coulde not sleepe all this last night and I am going now thether, I neuer fayled of a good nap there. And so I had rather ye should goe a napping to the sermons, than not to goe at all. For with what minde soeuer ye come, though ye come for an ill purpose, yet peraduenture ye may chaunce to be caught or ye go, the preacher may chaunce to catch you on his hooke. Rather then ye should not come at all. I would haue you come of curiositie, as S. Augustine came to heare S. Ambrose. When S. Augustine came to Millane, (he telles the story himselfe, in the ende of hys booke of confessions) he was very desirous to heare Saint Ambrose, not for any loue he had to the doctrine that he taught but to heare his eloquence, whether it was so great, as the speche was, and as the brute went. Well, before he departed S. Ambrose caught hym on his hooke, and conuerted him so, that he became of a Maniche, and of a Platonist, a good Christen, a defender of Christes religion, and of the fayth afterwarde. So I woulde haue you to come to sermons: it is declared in many mo places of scripture, how necessary preaching is, as thys: *Euangelium est potentia Dei, ad salutem omni credenti*: The preaching of the Gospell, is the power of God to euery man that doth beleue. Ye meanes Gods worde opened, it is the instrument, and the thyng whereby we are saued. Beware, beware, ye diminisshe not this office: for if ye doe, ye decay Gods power to all that do beleue. Christ sayth consonant to the same, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit à supernis, non potest videre regnum dei*, Except a man be borne againe from aboue, he cannot see the kingdome of God. Ye must haue a regeneration: and what is this regeneration? It is not to be christened in water (as these fire brandes expounde it) and nothing els. How is it to be expounded then? Saint Peter sheweth, That one place of Scripture declareth an other. It is the circumstance, and collation of places, that make scrip-

By comming to Sermons we are brought to the knowledge of God.

S. Augustine by comming to Sermons, became a Christian man.

Preaching is an office that must be maintayned.

By preaching and hearing of the worde of God, we are borne agayne from aboue.

Scripture playne. *Regeneramur autem*, (sayth S. Peter) and we be borne agayne. How? *Non ex semine mortali, sed immortali.* Not by a mortall sede, but by an immortall. What is this immortal sede? *per sermonem Dei viuentis*, By the word of the lyuing God, by the word of God preached and opened. Thus commeth in our new byrth.

Here you may se how necessary this office is to our salnation. Thus is the thyng that the deuill wrastleth most agaynst. It hath bene all his study to decay this office. He worketh against it as much as he can, he hath preuailed to much, to much in it. He hath set vp a state of vnpreachyng Prelacie in this realme this .v. yeare: A state vnpreachyng Prelacie. He hath made vnpreachyng Prelates: he hath stirred vp by heapes to persecute this office in the title of heresie: He hath stirred vp the Magistrates to persecute it in the title of sedition. And he hath stirred vp the people to persecute it with erprobations and sclanderous wordes: as by the name of new learnyng, straunge preachyng: and with impropriations he hath turned preachyng into priuate Masses. If a Priest should haue left Masse vndone on a Sonday within these .v. yeares, all England should haue wondred at it: but they might haue left of the Sermon .xx. Sondayes and neuer haue bene blamed. And thus by these impropriations priuate Masses were set vp, & preachyng of Gods word trodē vnder foote. But what doth he now? what doth he now? he sturres men vp to outragious rearing of rentes, that poore men shall not be able to find their children at the schole to be diuines.

The deuill is an enemy to preaching.

The word of God is slaundered by vnpreaching prelates.

Note the preposterous iudgement of the priestes. & the deuil doth continually trauayle.

What an vnreasonable deuill is this? he prouides a great while before hand for the time yͭ is to come. He hath brought vp now of late the most monstrous kind of couetousnes that euer was heard of. He hath inuēted fē ferming of benefices, and all to decay this office of preachyng: in so much that whē any man hereafter shall haue a benefice, he may go where he will, for any house he shall haue to dwell vpon, or any glebe land to kēpe hospitalitie withall: but he must take vppe a chamber in an alehouse, and there sit and play at the tables all the day. A godly Curate. He hath caused also through this monstrous kynde of couetousnes, patrons to sell their benefices. Yea what doth he more? He gettes him to the Vniuer-

Benefices takē in fee farme.

The deuill goeth to the vniuersity to teach but not to learn

stitie, and causeth great mē, and esquiers to send their sonnes thether, and put out poore Scholers that should be diuines: for their parentes entende not they shalbe preachers, but that they may haue a shew of learnyng. But it were to long to declare vnto you, what disceit and meanes the deuill hath found to decay the office of saluation, this office of regeneratiō. But to returne to my matter. The people came to heare the word of God: they heard him with silence. I remember now a saying of S. Chrisostome, and peraduenture it might come hereafter in better place: but yet I will take it, whiles it commeth to mynde. The saying is this. *Et loquentem eum audierunt in silentio, & seriem locutionis non interrumpentes,* They heard him (sayth he) in silence, not interruptyng the order of his preachyng Ye meanes, they heard hym quietly, without any shouelyng of feete, or walkyng vp and downe.

The misorder of walkers and tanglers.

Surely it is an ill misorder the folke shalbe walkyng vp and down in the Sermon tyme (as I haue sene in this place this Lent: and there shalbe such hussyng and bussyng in the preachers eare, that it maketh him oftentymes to forget his matter.

The banquet house made a preaching place

O let vs consider the kynges Maiesties goodnes: This place was prepared for banketting of the body: and his Maiestie hath made it a place for the comfort of the soule, and to haue the word of God preached in it, shewing hereby, that he would haue all his subiectes at it, if it might be possible. Consider what the kyngs Maiestie hath done for you, he alloweth you all to heare with hym. Consider where ye be. First ye ought to haue a reuerence to Gods word: and though it be preached by poore men, yet it is the same word that our Sauiour spake. Consider also the presence of the kynges Maiestie, Gods high Vicare in earth, hauyng a respect to his personage, ye ought to haue reuerence to it, and consider that he is Gods high minister, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him, of the hearyng of Gods word. This benefite of hys, would be thankefully taken, and it would be highly estemed. Yeare in silēce as Chrisostome saith, it may chaunce that some in the cōpany may fall sicke, or be diseased. If there be any such, let them go away with silence, let them leaue their salutations till they come in the Court, let them depart

A king is the high minister of God.

with

with silence. I toke occasion of Chrisostomes wordes to admonish you of this thyng.

What should be the cause, that our Saviour Christ went into the boate? the Scripture calleth it. *Navis* or *Navicula*, But it was no shyp, it was a fishers boate, they were not able to haue a shyp. What should be the cause, why he would not stand on the bancke and preache there, but he desired Peter to draw the boate somewhat from the shore into the middes of the water, what should be the cause? One cause was, for that he might sit there more commodiously, then on the bancke, an other cause was, for that he was lyke to be thrust into the pond of the people that came vnto him. Why? our Saviour Christ might haue withstand them, he was strong enough to haue kept hym selfe from thrustyng into the water. He was stronger then they all, and if he had listed he might haue stod on the water, as well as he walked on the water: truth it is, so might he haue done in dede. But as it was sometyme hys pleasure to shewe the power of hys Godhead, so he declared now the infirmitie and imbecilitie of hys manhode.

Here he geueth vs an example what we shall do, we must not tempt God by any miracles, so long as we may walke by ordinary wayes. As our Saviour Christ, when the deuill had hym on the top of the temple, and would haue had hym cast him selfe downe, he made him this aunswere. *Non tentabis Dominum Deũtuum.* Thou shalt not tẽpt thy Lord God, as if he should haue sayd, we may not tempt God at all. It is no tyme now to shew any miracles: there is an other way to go down, by gresinges. Thus he did to shew vs an example, that we must not tempt God, except it be in extreme necessitie, & when we cannot other wayes remedy the matter, to leaue it all to God, els we may not tempt the Maiestie of his deitie. Beware temptyng of GOD, well, he commes to Symones boate, and why rather to Symones boate then an other? I will aunswere, as I finde by experience in my selfe. I came hether to day from Lambeth in a whirry, and when I came to take my boate, the water men came about me (as the maner is) and he would haue me, and he would haue me. I toke one of them. Now ye will aske me why,

We may not tempt God by presuming of our selues, to do thinges agaynst any ordinary meane.

Why Christ came into Symons boate, rather then into any other.

I came in that boate, rather then in another, because I would goe into that, that I saw stand next me, it stode more commodiously for me. And so dyd Christ by Symons boate. It stode nérer for hym, he saw a better seate in it. A good naturall reason.

A simple matter that standeth vpon so weake a ground

Now come the papistes, & they will make a mistery of it, they will picke out the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome in Peters boate. We may make allegories inough of euery place in scripture: but surely it must nédes be a simple matter that standeth on so weake a grounde. But ye shall sée further. He desired Peter to thrust out his boate from the shore. He desired him. Here was a good lesson, for the bishop of Rome, and all his colledge of Cardinalles, to learne humility and gentlenes. *Rogabat eum*. He desired him, it was gently done of him, not with any austeritie, but with all vrbanity, mildenes, and softenes, and humility. What an example is this, that he geueth them here: but they spye it not, they can sée nothing but the supremacye of the bishoppe of Rome. A wonderous thing, what sight they haue. They sée nothing but the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. *Imperabatis ouibus meis*, sayth Ezechiel, *cum auaritia, & austeritate, & dispersæ sunt absque pastore*. Ye haue ruled my shéepe, and commaunded them with great lordlynes, austerity, and power: and thus ye haue dispersed my shéepe abroad, and why? There was no shepherd, they had wanted one a great while. Rome hath bene many a hundred yeares without a good shepheard. They would not learne to rule them gently, they had rule ouer them, but it was with cursinges, excommunications, with great austeritie, & thunderbolts, and the deuill and all, to mayntayne their vnpreaching prelacy. I beseche God open their eyes, that they may sée the truth, and not be blynded with those thinges that no man can sée but they. It foloweth in the text, *Sedens docebat de naui*, He taught sitting. Preachers belike, were sitters in those dayes, as it is written in an other place, *Sedent in cathedra Mosis*, They sit in the chayre of Moyses.

A good lesson of humilitie.

How the bishop of Rome ruleth and raigneth ouer the people.

The preacher vseth to sit.

I would our preachers would preach sitting or standing, one way, or other. It was a godly pulpitte that oure Sauiour Christe had gotten him here: An olde rotten boate.

And

And yet he preached his fathers will, his fathers message out of this pulpit. He cared not for the pulpit, so he might do the people good. In deede it is to bee commended for the preacher to stande, or sit, as the place is, but I would not haue it so superstitiously esteemed, but that a good preacher may declare the word of God sitting on a horse, or preaching in a tree. And yet if this shoulde bee done, the vnpreaching prelates would laugh it to scorne. And though it be good to haue the pulpit sette vp in churches, that the people maye resorte thither: yet I would not haue it so superstitiously vsed, but that in a prophane place the worde of God might be preached sometimes, and I would not haue the people offended withall, no more then they be with our Sauiour Christes preaching out of a boate. And yet to haue pulpets in churches it is very well done to haue thē, but they would be occupyed: for it is a vayne thing to haue them as they stand in many churches.

Christ regardeth the people more then the pulpite.

The word of God may be preached in any conuenient place where it may be heard.

I heard of a Bishop of Englande that went on visitation (and as it was the custome) when the Bishoppe should come and be rung into the towne, the great belles clapper was fallen down, the tyall was broken, so that the Bishop could not be rung into the towne. There was a great matter made of thys, and the chiefe of the paryshe were much blamed for it, in the visitation. The Bishop was somewhat quicke with them, and signifyed that he was muche offended. They made their aunswers, and excused themselues, as well as they could, it was a chaunce said they, that the clapper brake, and we coulde not get it mended by and by, we must tarry till we canne haue it done: It shall be amended as shortelye as may be. Among the other, there was one wyser then the rest, and he commes me to the Bishop. Why my lorde, sayth he, doth your lorshyp make so greate a matter of the bel that lacketh hys clapper: here is a bell (sayth he) and poynted to the pulpit, that hath lacked a clapper this 20. yeares. We haue a person that fetteth out of thys benefice fiftye pounde euery yeare, but we neuer see him. I warrant you the Bishoppe was an vnpreaching prelate. He coulde finde fault with the bel, that wanted a clapper to ring him into the towne, but he coulde not finde any fault with the person that

A merye tale of a true Bishop goyng on visitation.

The pulpite lacked his clapper.

preached not at his benefice. Euer this office of preachyng hath bene least regarded, it hath scant had the name of Gods seruice. They must sing *Salue fest a dies*, about the church, that no man was the better for it, but to shewe their gay cotes, and garmentes.

Fooles in Christmas.

I came once my selfe to a place, riding on a iorney homeward from London, and I sent worde ouer night into the towne, that I would preach there in the morning, because it was holyday, and me thought it was an holydayes worke. The church stode in my way, and I toke my horse and my company, and went thither (I thought I should haue founde a great company in the church) and when I came there, the churche doore was fast locked. I taried there halfe an houer and more, at last the key was founde, and one of the parishe comes to me and sayes. Sir this is a busie day with vs, we can not heare you, it is Robin hoodes day. The Parishe are gone abroode to gather for Robin hoode, I pray you let them not. I was fayne there to geue place to Robin hoode: I thought my Rochet shoulde haue bene regarded, thoughe I were not: but it would not serue, it was fayne to geue place to Robin hoodes men.

Robinhoode would not geue leaue to preachyng.

It is no laughing matter my frendes, it is a weepyng matter, a heauy matter, a heauy matter vnder the pretence for gathering for Robin hode, a traytour, and a theefe, to put out a Preacher, to haue his office lesse esteemed, to preferre Robin hoode before the ministration of Gods worde, and all this hath come of vnpreachyng Prelates. This realm hath bene ill prouided for, that it hath had such corrupte iudgementes in it, to preferre Robin hoode to Gods worde, If the Bishoppes had bene preachers, there shoulde neuer haue bene any such thing, but we haue a good hope of better. We haue had a good beginning, I beseche God to continue it. But I tell you, it is farre wyde, that the people haue suche iudgementes, the Bishoppes they coulde laughe at it. What was that to them? they would haue them continue in their ignorance styll, and themselues in vnpreaching prelacy. Well, sitting, sitting. He sate downe and taught. The text doth tell vs that he taught, but it doth not tell vs what he taught. If I were a Papist, I could tel what he sayd, I would

The vnpreachyng Prelates would haue the people to continue in ignorance.

in

in the Popes iudgement shewe what he taught. For the Bishoppe of Rome hathe in *Scrinio pectoris sui*, the true vnderstandyng of Scriptures: if he call a counsayle, the colledge of Cardinals, he hath authoritie to determine the Supper of the Lorde, as he did at the counsayle of Florence. And Pope Nicolas and Bishop Lanfrancke, shall come and expounde this place and say, that our Saviour Christ sayd thus. Peter I do meane this by sitting in thy boate, that thou shalt go to Rome, and be bishop there fiue & twenty yeares after myne ascension, and all thy successoures shall be rulers of the vniuersall church after thée.

Here would I place also holy water, and holy bread, & all vnwritten verities, if I were a Papist, and that Scripture is not to be expounded by any priuate interpretation, but by our holy father, and his Colledge of Cardinals. This is a great deale better place then *duc in altum*. But what was Christes sermon? it may soone be gathered what it was. He is allwayes lyke himselfe. Hys first sermon was *panitentiam agite*, Do penaunce, your liuing is naught, repent. Agayne at Nazareth, where he red in the temple and preached remission of sinnes, and healing of wounded consciences, and in the long Sermon in the mounte, he was allwayes like himselfe, he neuer dissented from himselfe.

Here is nought vpon nothyng.

The effect of Christes Sermon.

O there is a writer hath a iolie tette here, and his name is Dionisius: I chaunced to meete with his booke in my Lord of Caunterburies library: he was a Monke of the Charterhouse. I meruayle to finde suche a sentence in that authour. What taught Christ in this sermons? Mary sayth he, it is not written. And he addeth more vnto it. *Euangelistæ tantum scripserunt de sermonibus & miraculis Christi, quantum cognouerunt inspirante deo sufficere ad ædificationem ecclesiæ, ad confirmationem fidei, & ad salutem animarum?* It is true, it is not writtē. All his miracles were not written, so neither were all hys sermons written: yet for all that the Euangelistes did write so much as was necessary.

A good & godly saying.

They wrote so much of the miracles and Sermons of Christ as they knew by Gods inspiration to be sufficient for the edifying of the church, the confirmation of our fayth, and the helth of our soules. If this be true as it is in déede, where

The English of the Latine text before.

bee vnwritten verities? I meruayle not at the sentence, but to finde it in such an authour. Jesus what authority he geues to Gods word. But God would that such men should be witnesse with the auctority of his booke, will they nill they. Now to draw towardes an end.

A place wrested by the Bishop of Rome.

It followeth in the text, *duc in altum*. Here cōmeth in the supremacy of the Bishoppe of Rome. When our Sauiour Christ had made an end of his Sermon, and had fedde their soules, he prouided for their bodyes. First he beganne with the soule. Christes worde is the fode of it. Now he goeth to the body, he hath charge of them both: we must commit the feeding of the body and of the soule to him. Wel, he sayth to Peter, *duc in altum*, Launche into the depth, put forth thy boate farther into the deepe of the water: Lowse your nettes, now fishe. As who should say, your soules are now fedde, I haue taught you my doctrine, now I will confirme it with a myracle. Lo sir here is *duc in altum*, here Peter was made a great man, say the Papystes, and all his successours after him. And thys is derined of these few wordes, Launche into the deepe. And their argument is this: he spake to Peter only, and he spake to him in the singular number, ergo he gaue him such a preminence aboue the rest. A goodly argument, I wene it be a sillogismus, *in quem terra ponitis*, I will make a like argument.

Christ prouideth for the body as well as for the soule.

Christ confirmed his doctrine with miracles.

Upon what weake ground the Pope buildeth.

Our Sauiour Christ said to Judas when he was about to betray him, *quod facis fac citius*, Now when he spake to Peter there were none of his disciples by, but James & John, but when he spake to Judas they were all present. Wel he sayd vnto him, *quod facis fac citius*, Speede thy busynes, that thou hast in thy head, do it. He gaue him here a secret monition, that he knew what hee intended, if Judas had had grace to haue taken it and repented. He spake in the singular number to him, ergo he gaue him some preeminēce. Belike he made him a Cardinall, and it might full well be, for they haue followed Judas euer sence.

No good ground for the colledge of Cardinals.

Here is as good a grounde for the Colledge of Cardinalles, as the other is for the supremacy of the Bishoppe of Rome. Our Sauiour Christ (say they) spake onely to Peter for preeminence, because he was chiefe of the Apostles, and

you

you can shew none other cause, ergo thys is the cause why he spake to him in the singuler number. I dare say there is neuer a wherryman at Westminster bridge, but he can answer to this, & geue a naturall reason of it. He knoweth that one man is able to shoue the boate, but one man was not able to cast out the nets: and therfore he sayd in the plurall number, *laxate retia*. Lose your nettes: and he sayde in the singuler numbe to Peter, launch out the boate, why? because he was able to do it. But he spake to the other in the plurall nũber, because he was not able to conuey the boate, and cast out the nettes to. One man could not dow it. This would the wherryman say, and that with better reason, then to make such a mistery of it, as no man can spy but they. And the cause why he spake to all, was to shew that he will haue all christen men to worke for their lyuing. It is he that sendes fode both for the body, and soule, but he will not sende it without labour. He will haue all christen people to labour for it, he will vse our labour as a meane wherby he sendeth our fode.

Why Christ spake in the plural number, and why in the singular.

We must labor or els we may not eate.

This was a wonderous myracle of our Sauiour Christ, and dyd it not only to allure them to hys discipleshippe, but also for our commoditie. It was a seale, a seale, to seale his doctryne withall. Now ye know that suche as be kepers of seales, as my Lorde Chancellour and suche other, what so euer they bee, they dw no not alwayes seale, they haue a sealing tyme. (For I haue heard poore men complayne, that they haue bene put of from tyme to tyme of sealing, till all their money were spent, and as they haue time to seale in, so our Sauiour Christ had his time of sealing. When he was here in earth, with his Apostles, and in the tyme of the primitiue churche, Christes doctryne was sufficiently sealed already with seales of his owne making, what shoulde our seales dow? What nede we to seale his seale: it is a confirmed doctryne already.

Christes doctrine was sufficiently sealed and when.

O Luther, when he came into the world first, and disputed agaynst the decretales, the Clementines, Alexandrines, Extrauagantines, what a dw had he? But ye will say peraduenture hee was deceyued in some thinges, I will not take vpon me to defend him in all points. I will not stand to it, that all that he wrote was true, I thinke he would not so himselfe

The Papistes required of Luther miracles to confirme his doctrine.

him selfe. For there is no man but he may erre. He came to further and further knowledge (but surely he was a godly instrument) well I say when he preached first, they called vpon him to do miracles, they were wrought before, & so we nede to do no miracles. In dede when the Popish Prelates preached first, they had nede of miracles, and the deuill wrought some in the preachyng of Purgatory. But what kinde of miracles these were, all England doth know, but it will not know. A wonderfull thyng, that the people will continue in their blindnes and ignorannce still. We haue great vtilitie of the miracles of our Sauiour Iesus Christ. He doth signifie vnto vs by this wonderfull worke, that he is Lord as well of the water as of the land. A good comfort for those that be on the water, when they be in any tempest, or daunger to call vpon him.

Papistes haue miracles of their owne to confirme their doctrine.

What profite we haue of Christes miracles.

The fishe here came at his commaundement. Here we may learne, that all thynges in the water are subiect to Christ. Peter sayd, Syr, we haue laboured all night, and haue not caught one fisshe, how be it at your word we will to it a fresh. By this it appeareth that the gayne, the lucre, the reuenues that we get, must not be imputed to our labor: we may not say, gramercy labour, it is not our labour it is our Sauiour Christ that sendeth vs lyuyng: yet must we labour, for he that sayd to Peter labour, and he that bad the fishers labor, biddeth all mē to labour in their busines. There be some people that ascribe their gaynes, their encrease gotten by any facultie, to the deuill. Is there any frow ye in England would say so? Now if any man should come to another, and say he gat hys lyuing by the deuill, he would fall out with hym. There is not a man in England that so sayth, yet is there some that thinke it. For all that get it with false bying and sellyng, with circumuention, with vsurie, impostures, mirte wares, false wayghtes, deceiuynge their Lordes and maisters, all those, that get their goodes on this fashion, what do they thinke, but that the deuill sendeth them gaynes and riches. For they be hys (beyng vnlawfully gotten,) what is this to say, but that the deuill is authour of their gaynes, whē they be so gottē? For God inhibiteth them *Deus non volens iniquitatem tu es*. God will no iniquitie.

We must labor but God geueth the encrease.

There are some that ascribe their encrease to the deuill.

Who they are that get their lyuyng by the deuill.

These

These folke are greatly deceiued.

There be some agayne impute all to their labours and worckes. Yea, on ỹ holy day, they can not finde in their hartes to come to the temple, to the blessed Communion, they must be worckyng at home. These are wyde agayne on the other side. And some there be that thinke, if they worcke nothyng at all, they shall haue inough: they will haue no good exercise, but gape and thinke that God will send meate into their mouthes, and these are farre wide: they must worcke: he bad the fishers worcke. Our Sauiour Christ bad Peter worcke, and he that sayd so to them, sayth the same to vs, euery man in his arte, *Benedictio Dei facit diuitem*. The blessyng of God maketh a man rich. He letteth hys sonne shyne vppon the wicked, aswell as vpon the good, he sendeth riches both to good and bad. But this blessyng turneth to them into malediction, and a curse, it encreaseth their damnation. Saint Paule writyng to the Thessalonians, dyd put an order how euery man should worcke in hys vocation. *Cum essemus apud vos, hoc præcipiebamus vobis, vt si quis nollet operari, is nec edat.* Whiche in our Englishe tounge is.

Some impute their ganes to their labour.

We must worcke.

Gods blessyng maketh men rich.

When I was among you (sayth he) I made this ordinaunce that who soeuer would not do the worcke of hys vocation, should haue no meate. It were a good ordinaunce in a common weale that euery man should be set on worcke, euery man in his vocation. Let hym haue no meate. Now he sayth furthermore. *Audiuimus quosdam inter vos versantes inordinatè. nihil operis facientes.* I heare say there be some amongest you, that lyue inordinatly. What is that word inordinately? ydely, geuyng them selues to no occupation for their lyuing. *Curiosè agentes*. Curious men, geuen to curiositie, to searchyng what other men do. Saint Paule sayth, he heard say, he could not tell whether it were so or no. But he toke occasion of hearing say, to set out a good and wholesome doctrine. *His autem qui sunt eiusmodi præcipimus, & obsecramus.* We commaunde & desire you for the reuerence of God, if there be any such, that they will do the worckes of their vocation, and go quietly to their occupation, and so eate their owne bread: els it is not their own, it is other mens meate. Our Sauiour Christ before he began hys preachyng, lyued

We must labor or els we maye not eate.

Curious men.

of

Christ was a Carpenter.

of hys occupation, he was a Carpenter, and gat his lyuyng with great labour.

Therfore let no man disdaine, or thinke scorne to folow him, in a meane liuyng, a meane vocation, or a common callyng and occupation. For as he blessed our nature with takyng vpon him the shape of man, so in his doyng he blessed all occupations and artes. This is a notable example to signifie, that he abhorreth all idlenes. When he was a Carpenter, then he went, and dyd the worke of his callyng, and when he was a preacher, he dyd the workes of that callyng. He was no vnpreachyng Prelate. The Bysshop of Rome should haue learned that at hym. And these gayners with false arts what be they? They are neuer content with that they haue, though it be neuer so much. And they that are true dealers, are satisfied with that that God sendes, though it be neuer so litle. *Quæstus magnus pietas, cum animo sua sorte contento.* Godlines is great gaine, it is lucre inough, it is vantage inough, to be content with that, that God sendeth. The faythfull cã not lacke, the vnfaythfull is euer lacking, though he haue neuer so much.

Christ condemneth idlenes.

It is riches enough to be content with that God sendeth.

I will now make an end. *Labores manuum tuarum.* Let vs all labour, Christ teacheth vs to labor: yea the Bysshop of Rome him selfe, he teacheth him to labor, rather then to be head of the church. Let vs put our trust in God. *Labores manuum tuarum.* Cast thy care vpon the Lord, and he will norish thée and fede thée. Agayne the Prophet Dauid sayth. *Nunquam vidi iustum derelictum, nec semẽ eius quarens panem.* I neuer saw the righteous man forsaken, nor his sede to séke his bread. It is infidelitie, infidelitie that marres altogether. Well to my text, *Labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis, beatus es & bene tibi erit.* Because thou eatest the labors of thy handes, that, that God sendeth thée of thy labour. Euery man must labour, yea though he be a kyng, yet he must labour: for I know no man hath a greater labour then a king. What is his labour? To study Gods booke, to sée that there be no vnpreachyng Prelates in his Realme, nor bribyng iudges, to sée to all estates, to prouide for the poore, to sée vitailes good chepe. Is not this a labor trow ye? thus if thou doest labor, exercising the workes of thy vocation, thou eatest the

Psal. 37.

meate

meate that God ſendes thée, and then it folowth *Beatus es.* Thou art a bleſſed man in Gods fauour, *Et bene tibi erit.* And it ſhall go well with thée in this worlde, both in body and ſoule, for God prouideth for both. How ſhalt thou prouide for thy ſoule? go heare Sermons. How for the body? Labour in thy vocation, and then ſhall it be well with thée, both here and in the worlde to come, through the fayth and merites of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. To whom with the father and the holy Ghoſt be prayſe for euer and euer worlde without end. Amen.

Prouiſion both for the body & the ſoule.

The vii. Sermon preached by M. Hugh Latymer before K. Edward the xix. of Aprill.

QVÆCVNQVE ſcripta ſunt: *ad noſtrã doctrinam ſcripta ſunt.* All thinges that be written, are written to be our doctrine.

By occaſion of this text (moſt honorable audience) I haue walked this Lent in the broad fielde of ſcripture and vſed my liberty, and intreated of ſuch matters as I thought méte for this auditory. I haue had adoe with many eſtates, euen with the higheſt of all. I haue entreated of the duety of kinges, of the duety of magiſtrates, and iudges, of the duety of prelates, and alowing that that is good and diſalowing the contrary. I haue taught that we are all ſinners: I thinke there is none of vs all, neither preacher, nor hearer, but we may be amended, & redreſſe our liues: we may all ſay, yea all the packe of vs, *Peccauimus cum patribus noſtris.* We haue offended and ſinned with our forefathers. *In multis offendimus omnes.* Ther is none of vs al, but we haue in ſondry things greuouſly offended almighty God. I here entreated of many faultes & rebuked

We are all ſinners and haue offended God many wayes.

rebuked many kindes of sinnes. I intende to day by Gods grace, to shewe you the remedy of sinne. We bee in the place of repentaunce, now is the time to call for mercy, whiles we be in this worlde: we be all sinners, euen the best of vs all. Therefore it is good to here the remedy of sinne. This day is cõmonly called good Friday, although euery day ought to be with vs good Friday, Yet this day we are accustomed specially to haue a commemoration and remembraunce of the passion of our Sauiour Iesu Christ. This day we haue in memory his bitter passion and death, which is the remedy of our sinne. Therfore I entend to entreat of a peece of a story of his passion, I am not able to entreate of all. That I may do that the better, & that it may be to the honor of God and the edificatiõ of your soules and mine both, I shall desire you to pray. &c. In this prayer I will desire you to remember the soules departed, with laudes and prayse to almightie God, that he would vouchsafe to assiste them at the houre of their death: In so doyng, you shalbe put in remembraunce to pray for your selues, that it may please God to assiste and comfort you in the agonyes and paynes of death.

Christes death is the remedy for sinne.

The place that I will entreate of, is the xxvj. Chapter of S. Mathew. How be it, as I intreate of it, I will borow part of S. Marke, and S. Luke: for they haue somewhat, that S. Mathew hath not: and especially Luke. The text is, *Tunc cum venisset Iesus in villam, quæ dicitur Gethsemani*, than when Iesus came, some haue in *villã*, some *in agrum*, some *in prædiũ*. But it is al one: whether Christ came into a grange, into a peece of lande, into a fielde: it makes no matter, call it what ye will: At what time he had come into an honest mans house, and there eaten his pascal lambe, and instituted and celebrated the Lordes supper, and set forth the blessed communion: then when this was done, he toke his way to the place, where he knew Judas would come. It was a solitary place, and thither he went with his eleuen apostles. For Judas the twelfth was about his businesse, he was occupied about his marchandise, & was prouiding among the bishops and priestes, to come with an imbushment of Iewes, to take our sauiour Iesu Christ.

Math. 26. Luck. 22. Mark. 14.

Judas was busy in betraying Christ.

And when he was come into this field or graunge, this village

lage, or ferme place, which was called Gethsemani: there was a garden sayth Luke, into the which he goeth, & leaues viij. of his disciples without: howbeit he appoynted them what they should do. He sayth, *Sedete hic, donec vadam illuc, & orem*, Sit you here, whiles I go yonder and pray. He tolde them that he went to pray, to monish them what they should do, to fall to prayer as he did. He left them there, & toke no more with him, but iij. Peter, James, & John, to teach vs that a solitary place is mete for prayer. Then when he was come into this garden, *cœpit expauescere*, he began to tremble, in somuch he sayd, *Tristis est anima mea vsque ad mortem*. My soule is heauy and pensiue, euen vnto death.

Christ went to pray.

Christ feareth death.

This is a notable place, and one of the most especiall and chefest of all that be in the story of the passion of Christ. Here is our remedy. Here we must haue in consideration, all hys doinges and sayinges, for our learning, for our edification, for our comfort and consolation.

First of all, he set his three disciples that he toke with him in an order, and tolde them what they should do, saying: *Sedete hic, & vigilate mecum, & orate*. Sit here, and praye that ye enter not into temptation. But of that I will entreate afterward. Now when he was in the garden, *Cœpit expauescere*, He began to be heauy, pensiue, heauy harted. I like not Origenes playing with this worde *Cœpit*, it was a perfecte beauinesse: it was such a one as was neuer seene a greater.

We must vse prayer least we fall into temptation.

These doctours, we haue great cause to thanke God for them, but yet I would not haue them alwayes to be allowed. They haue handled many poyntes of our fayth very godly: and we may haue a great stay in them in many thinges: we might not well lacke them: but yet I would not haue mē to be sworne to them, & so addict, as to take hand ouer head what soeuer they say, it were a great inconuenience so to do. Wel, let vs go forward. He toke Peter, James, & John, into thys garden. And why dyd he take them with him, rather than other? Mary, those that he had taken before, to whom he had reueled in the hyll the transfiguration, and declaration of his deitie, to see the reuelatiō of the matelly of his Godhead: now in the garden he reueled to the same ỹ infirmitie of hys manhode:

How farre doctours are to be estemed.

Why Christ toke Peter, James, and John into the garden.

manhode: because they had tasted of the swete, he would they should tast also of the sowre. He toke these with him at both times: for two or three is inough to beare witnesse. And he began to be heauy in his minde. He was greatly vexed within himselfe: he was sore afflicted, it was a great heauinesse: he had bene heauy many times before, and he had suffered great afflictions in his soule, as for the blindnes of ỹ Iewes: & he was like to suffer mo panges of payne in his body. But this pang was greater then any that he euer suffred: yea it was a greater torment vnto him, I thinke a greater payne than whan he was hanged on the crosse, than whan the fower nailes were knocked & driuen through his hãds and fæte, then when the sharpe crowne of thornes was thrust on hys head. This was the heuines & pensiuenes of his hart, the agony of the Spirite. And as the soule is more precious then the body: euen so is the paynes of the soule more greuous thẽ the paynes of the body: Therefore there is an other which writeth, *Horror mortis, grauior ipsa morte.* The horror & vgsomnes of death is sorer then death it selfe. This is the most greuous payne that euer Christ suffered, euen this pang, that he suffred in the garden. It is the most notable place one of them in the whole story of the passion, when he sayd, *Anima mea tristis est, vsq; ad mortem.* My soule is heauy to death. And *Cũ cœpisset expauescere.* And when he begã to quiuer, to shake. The greuousnes of it is declared by this prayer that he made *Pater, si possible est. &c.* Father, if it be possible, away with this cup, ryd me of it. He vnderstode by this cup his paines of death. For he knew well inough, that his passion was at hand, that Iudas was commyng vppon him with the Iewes to take him.

Christ, why he was so heauy in his mynde and soule.

Paynes of the soule more greuous then the paynes of the body.

The Image of death.

There was offered vnto him now the image of death, the Image, the sence, the fæling of hell: for death and hell go both together. I will entreate of this Image of hell which is death. Truly no man can shew it perfectly, yet I will do the best I can, to make you vnderstand the greuous panges that our Sauiour Christ was in, when he was in the gardein: As mans power is not able to beare it, so no mans toung is able to expresse it. Painters paynt death lyke a man without skinne, and a body hauing nothyng but bones. And hell they

No toung able to expresse the panges that Christ suffred.

paint

paynt with horrible flames of brenning fire: they bũgle somwhat at it, they come nothing nere it. But this is no true paynting: No paynter can paynt hell, vnlesse he could paynt the torment and condemnation both of body and soule, the possession and hauing of all infelicity. This is hell, this is the image of death, this is hell, such an euill fauored face such an vgsom countenaunce, such an horrible visage our sauiour Christ saw of death, and hell in the garden. There is no pleasure in beholding of it, but more paine then any tong can tel. Death and hell toke vnto them this euill fauoured face of sinne, & through sinne. This sinne is so highly hated of God that he doth pronounce it worthy to be punished with lacke of all felicity, with the fẽling of infelicity. Death and hell be not only the wages, the reward, the stipend of sinne: but they are brought into the world by sin, *Per peccatum mors*, sayth S. Paul through sin death entred into the world. Moses sheweth the first coming in of it into the world: where as our first father Adam was set at liberty to liue for euer: yet God inhibyting him from eating of the apple, told him, If thou medle with this frute, thou & all thy posterity shall fall into necessity of death, from euer lyuing, *Morte morieris*, thou & all thy posterity shalbe subiect to death: here came in death and hell. Sinne was their mother. Therfore they must haue such an image as their mother sinne would geue them.

Paynters do but bungle at the panges of hell.

The description of hell.

Death, the stypend of sinne.

An vgsome thing and an horrible image must it nedes be that is brought in by such a thing so hated of God: yea this face of death and hell is so terrible, that suche as hath bene wicked men, had rather be hanged than abide it. As Achitophell that traytour to king Dauid lyke an ambitious wretch, thought to haue come to higher promotion: and therfore conspired with Absalon agaynst his master Dauid. Ye, whan he saw his counsaile toke no place, goeth and hangeth himselfe, in contemplation of this euill fauoured face of death. Judas also whan he came with bushementes to take tys master Christ, in beholdyng thys horribe face, hanged hym selfe. Yea the elect people of God, the faythfull hauing the beholding of this face, (though God hath alwayes preserued them suche a good God hee is to them that beleue in tym, that he will not suffer them to bee tempted aboue that, that they

Achitophel, could not abide the sight of the face of death and hell, but hanged him selfe.

Judas, when he saw the face of hell, hanged himselfe.

Job cursed the day of his birth whē he did inwardly beholde the horror of death.

haue bene able to beare:) yet for all that, there is nothyng that they complayne more sore than of this horror of deathe. Go to Job, what sayth he? *Pereat dies in quo natus sum, suspendium elegit anima mea*, Woe worthe the day that I was borne in, my soule would be hanged: saying in his panges almost he wist not what. This was whan with the eye of his conscience, and the inward man, he behelde the horror of death and hell, not for any bodily payne he suffered: for when he had byles, botches, blaynes, and scabbes, he suffered them patiently: he coulde saye then: *Si bona suscepi, de manu Domini, &c.* If we haue receyued good things of GOD, why shoulde wee not suffer lykewyse euill.

Why Job was vexed.

It was not for any such thing, that he was so vexed: but the syghte of hys face of death and hell, was offered to hym so lyuely, that he woulde haue bene out of this worlde. It was this euill fauoured face of deathe that so troubled hym. Kyng Dauid also sayde in comtemplation of this vglome face, *Laborauí in gemitu meo*, I haue bene sore vexed with sighing and mourninge. *Turbatus est à furore oculus meus.* Myne eye hath bene greatly troubled in my rage. A strange thinge, when he hadde to syghte with Goliath that monstrous gyaunt, who was able to haue eaten hym, he coulde abyde hym, and was nothynge afrayde. And nowe what a worke? what exclamations maketh he at the syghte of death? Jonas likewise was bold inough to byd the shipmen cast him into the sea, he had not yet sene that face & visage: but when he was in the whales belly, and had there the beholding of it, what terror and distresse abode he: Ezechias whan he sawe Senacherib besieging hys citie on euery side most vyolently, was nothyng afrayde of the greate host, and myghty army that was lyke to destroye hym out of hande, yet he was afrayde of death. Whan the Prophet came vnto hym, and sayde: *Dispone domui tuæ, morte morieris, & non viues.* It stroke hym so to the harte that he fell a weeping. O Lord, what an horror was this? There be some writers that sayes, that Peter, James, and John, were in this feeling at the same tyme: and that Peter, when he sayde, *Exi a me Domine, quia homo peccator sum*, dyd taste some part of it: he was so astonished, he wyste not what to saye. It was not long

Dauid feared not Goliath the monstrous Giant but he feareth death.

Jonas feared not the sea, but he feared death.

Ezechias feared not the mighty army of Sennacherib, but he feared death. 4. king. 20.

that

that they were in this anguishe, some saye longer, some shorter: but Christ was readdy to comfort them, and sayde to Peter, *Ne timeas*, Be not afrayde. A frende of myne told me of a certayne woman, that was eyghtene yeares together in it. I knewe a man my selfe Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, what tyme he had borne his fagotte and was come agayne to Cambridge, had suche conflicte, within hymselfe, beholdinge thys image of deathe, that hys frendes were afrayde to lette hym be alone: they were fayne to bée with hym daye and nighte, and comforted hym as they coulde, but no comfortes woulde serue. As for the comfortable places of Scripture to bringe them vnto hym, it was as thoughe a man woulde runne hym thorough the hart with a sworde: yet afterward for all this he was reuiued and toke his deathe patiently, and dyed well agaynst the tyrannicall sea of Rome. Wo will be to that byshop, that had the examination of hym, if he repented not. Here is a good lesson for you my frendes: If euer ye come in danger, in durance, in prison for Gods quarell, and his sake (as he dyd for purgatory matters, and put to beare a fagot for preaching the true word of God agaynst pilgremage, and suche like matters.) I will aduise you first and aboue all thing to abiure all your frendes, all your frendeshyp, leaue not one vnabiured: it is they that shall vndoo you, and not your ennemies. It was hys very frendes that brought Bylney to it. By this it may somewhat appeare what our Sauiour Christ suffered: he dothe not dissemble it hymselfe, when he sayth, My soule is heauy to death: he was in so sore an agony, that there issued out of hym, as I shall entreate anone, droppes of bloud: An vgsome thing surely, which his fact & déede sheweth vs, what horrible paynes he was in for our sakes. But you will say, how can this be? It were possyble that I & such other, as be great sinners shoulde suffer such affliction. The sonne of God, what our Sauiour Christ? neuer sinned, how can this stand that he should be thus handled? he neuer deserued it. Mary I will tell you, how we must cõsidered our sauiour Christ two wayes, on way in his mãhood, an other in his godhed. Some places of scripture must be referred to his deity & some to his humanitie. In his godhed he suffred nothing

Little Bilney the blessed martyr of God had wonderfull conflictes in hys mynde.

Bilney tooke his death patiently.

A good lesson for such as are in prison for the wordes sake.

Christ was in a sore agony.

Christ was sore tormented in his manhode but nothing in his godhead.

but now he made him self void of his deity, as scripture saith, *Cum esset in forma dei exinaniuit seipsum*. Wheras he was in the forme of God, he emptied himselfe of it, he did hide it, and vsed himselfe as though he had not had it, he would not helpe himselfe with his Godhead, he humbled himselfe with all obedience vnto death, euen to the death of the crosse: this was in that he was man, he toke vpon him our sinnes, our sinnes, not the worke of sinne. I meane not so, not to doe it, not to committe it, but to purge it, to clense it, to beare the stypend of it: and that way he was the greatest sinner of the worlde, he bare all the sinne of the worlde on his backe, he woulde become better for it.

Christ was accompted the greatest sinner of the world, because he toke vpon him our sinnes.

Nowe to sustayne and suffer the doloures of deathe, is not to sinne: but he came into this worlde, with hys passion to purge our sinnes. Nowe thys that he suffered in the Gardyne is one of the bitterest peces of all hys passyon: thys feare of deathe, was the bytterest payne that euer he abode, dewe to sinne, which he neuer dyd, but became detter for vs. All thys he suffered for vs, thys he dyd to satisfy for oure sinnes. It is muche like as if I oughte an other man twenty thousande poundes, and shoulde paye it out of hande, or elles goe to the dungeon of Ludgate: and when I am going to pryson, one of my frendes shoulde come, and aske, whether goeth this man? And after he hadde hearde the matter, shoulde saye, lette me aunswere for hym, I will becume suretye for hym. Yea, I will paye all for hym. Suche a part played our Sauiour Chryste with vs. If he hadde not suffered thys, I for my parte shoulde haue suffered, according to the grauitye and quaintitie of my sinnes, damnation. For the greater the sinne is, the greater is the punishment in hell. He suffered for you and me, in suche a degree as is due to all the sinnes of the whole worlde. It was as if you woulde imagine, that one man had committed all the sinnes sence Adam, you may be sure, he should be punished with the same horrour of death, in such a sort, as all men in the worlde should haue suffered.

Christ is the onlye purgatiō of our sinne.

The notable mercy of Christ shewed to mankinde.

The greater the sinne is, the greater is the payne.

Faygne and put case our Sauiour Christ, had committed all the sinnes of the world: all that I for my part haue done, all that you for your partes haue done and that any man

els

els hath done: if he had done all this him selfe, hys agonie that he suffered should haue bene no greater, nor grenouser, then it was. This that he suffred in the gardine was a portion I say of his passion, and one of the bitterest partes of it. And this he suffered for our sinnes, and not for any sinnes that he had committed himselfe: for all we should haue suffered euery man accordyng to his owne desertes.

His suffering in the garden was bitter and paynefull.

This hee did of his goodnesse, partely to purge and cleanse our sinnes, partely, because hee would tast, and feele our miseries, *Quo posset succurrere nobis*. That he should the rather helpe and relieue vs: and partely he suffered to geue vs example to behaue our selues as he dyd. He dyd not suffer, to discharge vs cleane from death, to kepe vs cleane from it, not to tast of it. Nay, nay, you must not take it so. We shall haue the beholdyng of this vgsome face euery one of vs, we shall feele it our selues. Yet our Sauiour Christ dyd suffer, to the entent, to signifie to vs, that death is ouercomable. We shall in deede ouercome it, if we repent, and acknowledge, that our Sauiour Jesu Christ pacified with his panges and paynes, the wrath of the father, hauyng a loue to walke in the wayes of GOD: if we beleue in Jesus Christ, we shall ouercome death. I say, it shall not preuayle agaynst vs.

Why Christ suffered such paynes.

All men shall behold the vgsome face of death.

How we shall ouercome death.

Wherefore when soeuer it chaunceth thee my frende, to haue the tastyng of this death, that thou shalt be tempted with this horrour of death, what is to be done then: when so euer thou feelest thy soule heauy to death, make hast, and resorte to this gardyne, and with this fayth thou shalt ouercome this terrour when it commeth. Oh it was a grenous thyng, that Christ suffred here. Of the greatnes of his dolour that he suffred in the gardein, partly to make amendes for our sinnes, and partly to deliuer vs from death, not so, that we should not dye bodily, but that this death should be a way to a better life, and to destroy and ouercome hell. Our Sauiour Christ had a gardine, but he had litle pleasure in it. You haue many godly gardines, I would you would in the middest of them consider what agonie our Sauiour Christ suffred in his gardine. A godly meditation to haue in your gardines. It shall occasion you to delight no farther in vani-

What is to bee done when the horror of death commeth.

A meditation for vs in our gardynes.

ties, but to remember what hee suffred for you. It maye draw you from sinne? It is a good monument, a good signe, a good monition to consider howe hee behaued hym selfe in this garding.

Well he sayth to his Disciples. Sit here and praye with me. He went a litle way of, as it were a stones cast from thē, and falleth to his prayer, and sayth: *Pater si possibile est, transeat à me calix iste.* Father if it be possible, away with this bitter cup, this outragious payne. Yet after he correcteth hymselfe, and sayth: *Verumtamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis,* Not my will, but thy will be done O father. Here is a good meditation for Christen men, at all tymes, and not onely vppon good Friday: Let good Friday be euery day to a Christian man, to know to vse hys passion to that end and purpose, not to read the story, but to take the fruite of it.

Every day should be good Friday to a Christen man.

1. Sam. xxx.

Some men if they had bene in this agonie, would haue runne them selues thorough the with theyr swordes as Saule dyd, some would haue hanged themselues, as Achytophel dyd. Let vs not follow these men, they be no examples for vs, but let vs follow Christ, whiche in hys agonye resorted to his father with his prayer: This must be our patrone to worke by. Here I might dilate the matter as touchyng prayeing to Saintes. Here we may learne not to pray to Saintes, Christ byddeth vs, *Ora patrem qui est in cœlis.* Pray to thy father that is in heauen, to the creator, & not to any creature. And therfore away with these anouries: Let GOD alone be our anowrye, what haue we do to runne hether or thether, but onely to the father of heauen? I will not tary to speake of this matter.

2. Sam xviii.

We must pray to God and not to Saintes.

Our Sauiour Christ set his Disciples in an order, and commaunded them to watch and pray, saying: *Vigilate, & orate.* Watche and praye: whereto should they watch and pray, he sayth by and by, *Ne intretis in tentationem,* That ye enter not into temptation. He byddeth them not praye that they bee not tempted, for that is as much to say, as to pray that we should be out of this world. There is no man in this world without temptation. In the tyme of prosperitie we are tempted to wantonnes, pleasures, and all lightnes: in tyme of aduersitie to dispayre in Gods goodnes.

Why the Disciples were commaunded to pray.

Temp-

Temptation neuer ceaseth. There is a difference betwene beyng tempted, and entryng into temptation. Ye byddeth therefore not to pray that they be not tempted, but that they enter not into temptation. To be tempted is no euill thyng.

A differēce betwene beyng tempted, & entryng into tēptation.

For what is it? no more then when the flesshe, the deuill and the world doth solicite and moue vs agaynst God.

To geue place to these suggestions, and to yeld our selues, and suffer vs to bee ouercome of them, this is to enter into temptation. Our Sauiour Christ knew that they should be greuously tempted, and therefore hee gaue them warnyng, that they should not geue place to temptation, nor dispayre at hys death. And if they chaunced to forsake him, or to runne awaye, in case they tripped or swarued, yet to come agayne.

The Apostles were warned of their temptation.

But our Sauiour Christ dyd not onely commaunde his Disciples to pray, but fell downe vppon hys knees flat vppon the ground and prayed hymselfe, saying: *Pater si fieri potest, transeat à me calix iste.* Father, deliuer me of this paynge and payne that I am in, this outragious payne, this mayd Father, came euen from the bowels of hys harte, when he made hys mone, as who should say, Father ryd me, I am in such payne that I can be in no greater: Thou art my Father, I am thy sonne, Can the father forsake hys sonne in such anguishe? Thus he made hys mone. Father, take away this horrour of death from me, ryd me of this payne, suffer me not to be taken when Iudas commeth, suffer me not to be hanged on the Crosse, suffer not my handes to be pearsed with nayles, nor my hart with the sharpe speare. A wonderfull thyng, that he should so oft tell his Disciples of it before, and now when he commeth to the poynte, to desire to be ryd of it, as though hys would haue byne disobedient to the will of hys father. Afore he sayd, he came to suffer, and now he sayth away with this cup. Who would haue thought that euer thys geare shoulde haue come out of Christes mouth? What a rase is this? What should a man say? You must vnderstand, that Christ toke vppon hym our infirmities, of the which this was one, to be sory at death. Among the stipendes of sinne this was one, to tremble at the Crosse, this is a punishment for our sinne.

Christ did pray in his agony.

Christ sheweth him selfe a very man, & to haue all the infirmities that man hath.

Christ toke vpon hym all our infirmities except sinne.

It goeth otherwayes with vs, then with Christ, if we were in lyke case, and in lyke agony, almost we would curse God, or rather wish that there were no God. This that he sayd, was not of that sorte, it was referryng the matter to the will of hys father: but we seke by all meanes be it right, be it wrong, of our owne nature to be ryd out of payne, hee desired it conditionally, as it might stand, with hys fathers will, addyng *Veruntamen* to it. So hys request was to shew the infirmitie of man, here is now an example what we shall do, when we are in lyke case. We never deserued it, we haue. He had a *Veruntamen*, and notwithstandyng: let vs haue so to, we must haue a neuertheless, thy will be done and not myne. Geue me grace to be content to submit my will vnto thyne. His fact teacheth vs what to do. This is our Surgery, our Phisike, when we be in agonye, and recken vpon it, frendes, we shall come to it, we shall feele it, at one tyme or an other. What doeth he now, what came to passe now, when he had heard no voyce, hys father was domme? He resorteth to hys frendes, seekyng some comfort at theyr handes, seyng he had none at hys fathers hand, he commeth to his Disciples, and findeth them a sleepe, he spake vnto Peter and sayd. Ah Peter art thou a sleepe? Peter before had wagged stoutly, as though hee would haue killed GOD haue mercy vpon hys soule. And now when hee should haue comforted Christe, hee was a sleepe, not once buffe, nor baffe to him, not a word, hee was fayne to say to his Disciples, *Vigilate & orate*. Watche and praye, the spirite is ready, but the flesh is weake, he had neuer a word of them agayne.

An example for vs when we are tempted.

When we are in agony what Phisike we should vse.

Watch & pray.

They might at the least haue sayd. Oh sir remember your selfe, are you not Christe came not you into this world, to redeme sinne? be a good cheare, be a good comfort, this sorrow will not helpe you, comfort your selfe by your owne preachyng you haue sayd: *Oportet filium hominis pati*. You haue not deserued any thyng, it is not your fault. In deede if they had done this with hym, they had playde a frendly parte with hym, but they gaue hym not so much as one comfortable word. We runne to our frendes in our distresses & agonyes, as though we had all our truste and confidence in them,

he dyd not so, he resorted to them, but trusted not in them, we will runne to our frendes and come no more to God, he returned agayne. What shall we not resorte to our frendes in time of nede and trow ye we shall not finde them a slepe: Yes I warrant you, and when we nede their helpe most, we shall not haue it. But what shall we do, when we shall finde lacke in them? we will cry out vpon them, vpbraide them, chide, braule, fume, chafe and backbite them. But Christ dyd not so, he excused his frendes saying: *Vigilate & orate, spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma.* Oh (quoth he) watche and pray, I se well the spirit is ready, but the flesh is weake. What meaneth this? surely it is a comfortable place. For as long as we lyue in this world, when we be at the best, we haue no more but *Promptitudinem spiritus cũ infirmitate carnis*. The readynesse of the spirite with the infirmitie of the flesh. The very Saintes of God sayd: *Velle adest mihi*, my will is good, but I am not able to performe it, I haue bene with some, and faine they would, faine they would, there was readynesse of spirite, but it would not be. It greued them that they could not take thinges, as they should do. The flesh resisteth the worke of the holy ghost in our hartes, and leteth it, leteth it. We haue to pray euer to God. Oh prayer, prayer, that it might be vsed in this Realme, as it ought to be of all men, and specially of Magistrates, of counsaylers, of great rulers, to pray, to pray, that it would please God to put godly policies in their hartes. Call for assistaunce. I haue heard saye, when that the good Quéene that is gone had ordeyned in her house, dayly prayer both before none, and afternone, the Admirall getteth hym out of the waye, lyke a moule dyggyng in the earth. He shalbe Lottes wyfe to me as long as I lyue. He was I heard say a couetous man, a couetous man in deede, I woulde there were no moe in Englande. Hee was I heard saye an ambitious man, I would there were no moe in England. He was I heard say a seditious man, a contemner of common prayer, I would there were no moe in Grigland, well he is gone, I would hee had left none behynd hym.

We shall finde our frendes slepyng.

Rom. vii.

The flesh resisteth the spirit.

Remember you my Lordes, that you pray in your houses to the better mortification of your flesh. Remember GOD

must

must be honored, I will you to pray that God will continue his spirite in you. I do not put you in comfort, that if ye haue once the spirite, ye cannot lose it. There be new spirites start vp now of late, that say after we haue receiued the spirit, we cannot sinne. I will make but one Argument. Saint Paule had brought the Galathians to the profession of the fayth, and left them in that state, they had receiued the spirite once, but they sinned agayne, as he testified of them him selfe. He sayeth: *Currebatis bene.* Ye were once in a right state, and agayne: *recepistis Spiritum ex operibus legis, an ex iustitia fidei?* Once they had the spirite by fayth, but false Prophetes came (whē he was gone from them) and they plucked them cleane away from all that Paule had planted them in, and then sayd Paule vnto them. *O stulti Galathi quis vos fascinauit?* If this be true, we may lose the spirite, that we haue once possessed. It is a fond thyng, I will not tary in it. But now to the passion agayne.

We may haue the spirite, and yet sinne afterward.

Christ had bene with his father, and felt no helpe, he had bene with hys frendes, and had no comforte, he had prayed twise, and was not heard, what dyd he now? dyd he geue prayer ouer? no, hee goeth agayne to hys father, and sayeth the same agayne, father if it bee possible, away with this cuppe, here is an example for vs, although we bee not heard at the firste tyme, shall we geue ouer our prayer? nay we must to it agayne, we must be instant in prayer. He prayed thrise and was not heard, let vs pray thrise foure tymes, folkes are very dull now a dayes in prayer, to come to Sermons, to resorte to common prayer. Ye housekepers, and especially great men geue example of prayer in your houses.

Christ continued in prayer.

Well, dyd hys father loke vppon hym this second tyme? no, he went to hys frendes agayne, thynkyng to finde some comforte there, but hee findeth them a slepe agayne, more deeper a slepe then euer they were. Their eyes were heauy with slepe. There was no comfort at all, they wist not what to say to hym. A wonderfull thyng, how he was tossed from poste to piller, one whyle to hys father, and was destitute at his hande, another whyle to hys frendes, and founde no comforte at them, hys father gaue hym lokyng on, and suf-

Housekepers and great men must geue exãple of prayer.

fred

fred hym to byte vpon the bridle a whyle.

Almightie God beheld this battaile, that he might enioy the honour and glorie, that in his name all knées should bow, *Cœlestium, Terrestrium, & Infernorum*, in heauen, earth and hell. This that the father would not heare his owne sonne, was an other punishment due to our sinne. When we crye vnto hym, he will not heare vs. The Prophet Jeremy sayth: *Clamabunt ad me, & ego non exaudiam eos*. These bee Jeremies wordes, here he threatneth to punishe sinne, with not hearyng their prayers, the Prophet sayth: They haue not had the feare of GOD before their eyes, not haue not regarded discipline and correction. I neuer saw surely so litle discipline as is now a dayes. Men will be maisters, they will be maisters, and no disciples.

God punisheth sinne in not hearing of our prayers.

Alas where is this Discipline now in Englande. The people regarde no Discipline, they be without all order. Where they should geue place, they will not sturre one inch, yea & where Magistrates shoulde determine matters, they will breake into the place before they come, and at their commyng not moue a whit for them. Is this Discipline? Is this good order? If a man say any thyng vnto them, they regarde it not. They that bee called to aunswere, will not aunswere directly, but scoffe the matter out. Men the more they knowe, the worse they bee, it is truely sayde. *Scientia inflat*, knowledge maketh vs proude, and causeth vs to forget all, and set a way Discipline. Surely in Popery they had a reuerence, but now we haue none at all, I neuer saw the lyke. This same lacke of the feare of GOD, and Discipline in vs, was one of the causes that the father would not heare his sonne. This payne suffred our Sauiour Christ for vs who neuer deserued it. Oh what it was, that he suffred in this gardein, till Judas came. The dolours, the terrours, the sorrowes that hee suffered be vnspeakeable. He suffred partly, to make amendes for our sinnes, and partly to geue vs example, what we should do in lyke case. What commeth of this geare in the end.

People are without order, or honestie.

The more we know & worse we be.

In tyme of Popery there was some reuerence but now none at all.

Well, now he prayeth agayne, he resorteth to hys father agayne. *Angore correptus prolixius orabat*. He was in sorer paynes, in more anguish them euer he was, and therfore hee

Why Christ suffered so sore in the gardein.

prayeth

Christ prayed the thyrd tyme and sweatteth bloud.

prayeth longer, more ardently, more feruently, more vehemently then euer he dyd before. Oh Lord, what a wonderfull thyng is this, this horror of death is worse then death it selfe, and is more vgsome. He prayeth now the thyrd tyme. He dyd it so instantly, so feruently, that it brought out a bloudy sweate, and such plenty that it dropped downe euen to the groũd. There issued out of his precious body drops of blud. What a payne was he in, when these bloudy drops fell so aboundantly from hym? Yet for all that, how vnthankefull do we shewe our selues towarde hym that dyed onely for our sakes, and for the remedy of our sinnes. Oh what blasphemy do we commit day by day, what litle regard haue we to his blessed passion thus to sweare by Gods bloud, by Christs passion. We haue nothyng in our pastyme, but Gods bloud, Gods woundes. We continually blaspheme his passion in bankyng, huntyng, dicyng and cardyng. Who would thinke he should haue such enemyes among those that professe hys name? What became of hys bloud that fell downe trow ye? was the bloud of Hales of it, wo worth it. What a do was it to bryng this out of the kynges head. This great abhomination of the bloud of Hales could not be take a great whyle out of hys minde.

Our ingratitude and vnthankefulnes to God, which dyed for vs.

Blasphemous swearyng in all our pastymes.

The bloud of Hales was taken once for a religious relique.

Pou that be of the Court, and especially ye sworne Chaplaines beware of a lesson that a great man taught me at my first cõmyng to the Court he told me for good will, he thought it well. He sayd vnto me. Pou must beware how so euer ye do that ye contrary not the kyng, let hym haue his sayinges, folow hym, go with him. Mary out vpon this counsell, shall I say, as he sayth: Say your conscience, or els what a worme shall ye fele gnawyng, what a remorse of conscience shall ye haue, when ye remember how ye haue slacked your dutie? It is a good wise verse. *Gutta cauat lapidem, non vi sed sæpe cadendo*. The drop of rayne maketh a hole in the stone, not by violence, but by oft fallyng. Likewise a Prince must be turned not violently, but he must be wonne by a litle and a litle. He must haue his dutie told him, but it must be done with humblenesse, with request of pardon, or elles it were a daungerous thyng. Vnpreachyng Prelates haue bene the cause, that the bloud of Hales dyd so long blynd the kyng.

A mete lesson for flatterers to learne.

A Princes minde is to bee perswaded, but not violently forced.

Wo worth that such an abhominable thing, shoulde be in a Christen realme, but thankes be to God, it was partelye redressed in the kinges dayes that dead is, and much more now. God graunt good will, and power to go forwarde, if there be any such abhomination behinde, that it may vtterly by rooted vp. O how happy are we, that it hath pleased almighty God to vouchsafe, that his sonne shoulde sweate blonde for the redéeming of our sinnes, and agayne how vnhappy are we, if we will not take it thankefully, that was redéemed so paynefully. Alas what harde hartes haue we. Our Sauiour Christ neuer sinned, and yet swette he blond for our sinnes wée will not once water our eyes with a few teares. What an horrible thing is sinne? that no other thing woulde remedy and paye the raunsome for it, but only the blonde of our Sauiour Christe. There was nothing to pacifye the fathers wrathe agaynst man, but suche an agonye as he suffered all the passion of all the martyrs that euer were, all the sacrifices of Patriarkes that euer were, all the good workes that euer were done, were not able to remedye oure sinne, to make satisfaction for our sinnes, nor any thing beside, but thys extreame passion and blonde shedding of our moste mercifull Sauiour Christ.

Sinne is horrible, and why.

Christes death and passion was the only remedy for our sinne

But to draw toward an end, what became of this thrée fold prayer, at the length, it pleased God to heare his sonnes prayer, and sent him an angell to corroborate, to strengthen, and to comfort him. Christ néede no angels helpe if he had listed to ease himselfe with his deitye. Ye was the sonne of God, what then? for so much as he was man, he receyued comfort at the aungels hand, as it accordes to our infirmity. His obedience, his continuance and suffering, so pleased the father of heauen, that for his sonnes sake, be he neuer so great a sinner, leauing his sinne, and repenting for the same, he will owe him such fauoure, as though he had neuer committed any sinne.

Why Christ receyued comfort of thangel.

Note a comfortable promise, and a ioyfull saying.

The father of heauen will not suffer him to be tempted with this great horror of death and hell to the vttermost, and aboue that he is able to beare. Loke for it my frendes, by him and through him, he shalbe able to ouercome it, let

A lesson for vs in time of temptation.

vs do as our Sauiour Christ dyd, and we shall haue helpe from aboue, we shall haue angels helpe, if we truste in hym, heauen and earth shall geue vp, rather then we shall lacke helpe: he sayth he is. *Adiutor in necessitatibus*, an helper in tyme of nede.

When the Angell hadde comforted hym, and when thys horror of deathe was gonne, he was so strong, that he offered hymselfe to Judas, and sayde, I am he. To make an ende, I praye you take paynes, it is a daye of penaunce (as we vse to saye) geue me leaue to make you weary this day. The Iewes hadde hym to Cayphas and Annas, and there they whipte hym, and bette hym, they sette a crowne of sharpe thornes vppon hys head, and nayled hym to a tree, yet all thys was not so bitter, as thys horror of deathe, and thys agonye, that he suffered in the garden, in suche a degree as is due to all the sinnes of the worlde, and not to one mannes sinnes. Well, hys passion is our remeadye, it is the satisfaction for our sinnes. Hys soule descended to hell for a tyme.

The horror of death and the agony which christ sustained in the garden exceedeth the other paynes.

Here is muche a dw, these newe hyssarting spirites, say Christe neuer descended into hell, neyther body nor soule. In scorne they will aske, was he there, what did he there? what if we cannot tell what he dyd there? The Crede goeth no further, but sayth, he descended thyther, what is that to vs, if we cannot tel seing we were taught no further. Paul was taken vp into the thirde heauen, aske likewise what he sawe, when he was caryed thyther, you shall not finde in scripture what he sawe or what he dyd there, shall we not therefore beleue that he was there. These arrogant spirites, spirites of vayne glorye, because they knowe not by any expresse scripture, the order of hys doinges in hell, they will not beleue that euer he descended into hell. In dede thys article hath not so full scripture, so manye places and testimonies of scriptures as other haue, yet it hathe inoughe, it hath two or three textes, and if it had but one, one texte of scripture, is of as good and lawfull authoritye as a thousande and of as certayne truth. It is not to be waged by the multitude of textes.

Against such as denye that Christ descended into hell.

Arrogant spirites of vayne glorye.

I beleue as certainelye and verelye that thys realme of Englande

Englande hath as good authority to heare Gods worde, as any nation in all the world, it may be gathered be two textes, one of them is thys. *Ite in vniuersum mundum, & prædicate euangelium omni creaturæ.* Go into the whole world, and preache the gospell to all creatures. Agayne, *Deus vult omnes hominis saluos fieri.* God will haue all men to be saued, he excepts not the English men here, nor yet expresly nameth thē, and yet I am as sure, that thys Realme of Englande, by this gathering, is allowed to heare Gods word, as though Christ had sayde a thousande times, go preach to English men. I will that English men be saued.

Because this article of his descending into hell, cannot be gathered so directly, so necessarily, so formally, they vtterly deny it. This article hath scriptures two or thrée inoughe for quiet myndes, as for curiouse braynes nothing can content them. Thys the deuils sturring vp of suche spirites of sedition, is an euident argumente, that the lighte is come forthe, for hys worde is a broade, when the deuill rusheth, when he roareth, when he stirreth vp such busy spirites, to slaunder it. My entent is not to entreate of this matter at this time. I trust the people will not be caryed away with these new arrogant spirites, I doubt not, but good preachers will labour agaynst them.

Curious braynes are neuer content.

In argument that Goddes word is abrod.

But now I will say a worde, and herein I protest first of all not arrogantly to determine, and define it, I will contend with no man for it, I will not haue it be preiudice to any body, but I offer it vnto you to consider and way it. There be some great clarkes that take my parte. And I perceyue not what euill canne come of it, in sayinge, that our Sauiour Christ dyd not only, in soule descende into hell, but also that he suffered in hell suche paynes, as the damned spirites dyd suffer there. Surelye, I beleue verelye for my parte, that he suffered the paynes of hell proportionably, as it correspondeth and aunswereth to the whole sinne of the world. He woulde not suffer only bodely in the garden, and vpon the crosse, but also in hys soule, when it was from the body, which was a payne due for our sinne. Some wryte so, and I canne beleue it that he suffered in the verye place, and I cannot tell what it is, call it what ye will, euen in the

Weare with father Latymer in this place.

Fire, gnashing of teethe, the worme of conscience, are termes, bitering to vs the paynes of hell.

skalding

skalding house, in the vgsomnesse of the place, in the p͛ce-sence of the place, such payne as our capacity can not attayne vnto, it is somwhat declared vnto vs, when we vtter it by these effectes, by fyre, by gnashing of teeth, by the worme that gnaweth on the conscience. What so euer the payne is, it is a great payne that he suffered for vs.

I see no inconuenience to say, that Christ suffered in soule in hell. I singularly commende the exceeding great charitie of Christ, that for our sakes would suffer in hell in his soule. It settes oute the vnspeakeable hatred that God hathe to sinne. I perceyue not that it doth derogate any thing from the dignitie of Christes death, as in the garden, when he suffered, it derogates nothing from that he suffered on the cros

The peculiar phrase and maner of speaking of the scripture is to be noted.

Scripture speaketh on this fashion: *Qui credit in me, habet vitam æternam.* He that beleueth in me, hath life euerlasting. Here he settes forth fayth as the cause of our iustificati-on, in other places as highe commendation is geuen to workes, and yet, are the workes any derogation from that dignitie of faythe? No. And agayne scripture sayth: *Tradi-tus est propter peccata nostra, et exuscitatus propter iustificatio-nem. &c.* It attributeth here, oure iustification to his resur-rection, and doth this derogate any thing from his death? not a whyt. It is whole Christe. What with his natiuitie, what with his circumcision, what with his incarnation, and the whole proces of hys life, with his preaching, what with his ascending, descending, what with his deathe, it is all Christ that worketh our saluation. He sitteth on the right hande of the father, and all for vs? All this is the worke of oure salua-tion. I woulde be as lothe, to derogate any thing from Christes death, as the best of you all. How vnestimablely are we bounde to him? what thankes ought we to gene him for it? We must haue this continually in remembraunce. *Propter te mortis tradimur tota die.* For thee, we are in dying continually.

Christ wrought our saluation in al his doinges.

The life of a christen man is nothing but a redynes to dye, and a remembraunce of deathe. If thys that I haue spo-ken of Christes suffering in the gardeine, and in hell, dero-gate any thing from Christes death and passion, awaye with it, beleue me not in thys if it do not, it commendes

and

and sets forth very well vnto vs, the perfection of the satisfaction that Christ made for vs, and the worke of redemption, not onely before witnesse in this world, but in hell in that vgsome place, where, whether he suffred, or wrastled with the spirites, or comforted Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, I will not desire to know. If ye like not that which I haue spoken of his suffring, let it goe, I will not striue in it, I will be preiudice to no body, weigh it as ye list, I do but offer it you to consider. It is like his soule did somwhat the three dayes that his body lay in the graue. To say, he suffred in hell for vs, derogates nothing from his death. For all thinges that Christ did before his suffring on the crosse, and after, do worke our saluation. If he had not bene incarnate, he had not died, he was beneficiall to vs with all thinges he did. Christen people should haue his suffring for them in remembrance. Let your gardens monish you, your pleasant garbenes, what Christ suffred for you in the garden, and what commoditie you haue by his suffring. It is his will ye should so do, he would be had in remembrance. Mire your pleasures with the remembrance of his bitter passion. The whole passion is satisfaction for our sinnes: and not the bare death, cõsidering it so nakedly by it selfe. The maner of speaking of scripture, is to be considered. It attributeth our saluation now to one thing, now to another, that Christ did, where indeed it pertayned to all. Our sauiour Christ hath left behinde him a remembraunce of his passion, the blessed communion, the celebration of the Lordes supper: alacke it hath bene long abused, as the sacrifices were before, in the old law. The patriarches vsed sacrifice, in the fayth of the seede of the woman, which should breake the serpentes head. The patriarches sacrificed on hope, and afterward the worke was esteemed. There comes other after, and they consider not the faith of Abraham, and the patriarches, but do they sacrifice according to their owne imagination, euen so it came to passe with our blessed communion. In the primatiue church, in places, when their frendes were dead, they vsed to come together to the holy communion. What, to remedy the y were dead? No, no, a straw, it was not instituted for no such purpose. But

Christ was beneficiall to vs in all his doinges.

The blessed cõmunion is a remembraunce of Christes passiõ

The vsage of the primatiue church in the receiuing of the communion, at the burtall of the dead.

thē they would call to remēbrance Gods goodnes, & his passiō ỳ he suffred for vs, wherein they comforted much their fayth. Other came afterward & sets vp al these kinds of massing, all these kinds of iniquitie. What an abhominatiō is it: the foulest ỳ euer was, to attribute to mans worke our saluatiō. God be thanked ỳ we haue this blessed cōmunion set forth so now, that we may comforte, encrease, and fortifie our fayth at that blessed celebration. If he be guilty of the body of Christ, that takes it vnworthely, he fetcheth great comfort at it, that eates it worthely: He doth eate it worthely, that doth eate it in fayth. In fayth: in what fayth? Not long agoe a great man sayd in an audience: They bable much of fayth, I will goe lye with my whore all night, and haue as good a fayth, as the best of thē all. I thinke he neuer knew other, but the whoremungers fayth. It is no such fayth that will serue. It is no bribing iudges or iustices fayth, no rentraylers fayth, no whoremungers fayth, no leasmungers fayth, nor no sellers of benefices fayth, but ỳ fayth in the passiō of our sauiour Christ: we must beleue that our sauiour Christ hath taken vs againe into his fauour, that he hath deliuered vs his owne body and blood, to plead with the deuill, and by the merite of his owne passion, of hys owne meere liberalitie. This is the fayth I tell you, that we must come to the communion with, & not the whoremungers fayth. Loke where remission of sinne is, there is acknowledging of sinne also. Fayth is a noble Duches, she hath euer her gentleman vsher going before her, the confessing of sinnes, she hath a trayne after her, the fruites of good workes, the walking in the commaundementes of God. He that beleueth, will not be idle, he will walke, he will do his busines, haue euer the gentleman vsher with you: So if you will try fayth, remember this rule. Consider whether the trayne be waighting vppon her. If you haue an other fayth then this, a whoremungers fayth, you are lyke to goe to the Scalding house, and there you shall haue two dysshes, weeping and gnashing of teethe, muche good do it you, you se your fare. If you will beleeue, and acknowledge your sinnes, you shall come to the blessed communion of the bitter passion of Christ, worthely

Massing was the foulest abhominatiō ỳ at euer was.

A great man that neuer knew other thē the whoremōgers fayth.

What fayth will serue.

Fayth is as a noble gentlewoman, that hath her gentleman vsher going before her, & her traine after her

The true triall of fayth.

worthely, and so attayne to euerlasting lyfe, to the whiche the father of heauen bring you and me.

Amen.

A Sermon preached by M. Hugh Latymer, at Stamforde Octob. 9. 1550.

REDDITE *ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari: et quæ sunt Dei, Deo*. Geue that that is Cæsars to Cæsar: and that that is Gods to God.

This doctrine is greuous, heuy, & irkesome to couetous hartes, rebellious & seditious harts. Geue, geue, they cānot away wt it, it can not stick in their mindes, nor settle in their stomackes: they would rather be taking, scraping, & catching, thē geuing. But godly persons will well accept & take it, for it is to thē a great pleasure, ioy, & comfort. For the better vnderstanding of thys place, ye shall vnderstand, Christ came to bring vs out of bondage, & to set vs at liberty: not from ciuill burden, as from obeying the magistrates, from paying tax and tribute, but from a greater burthen, and a more greuouser burthen, the burthen of sinne, the burthen, not of the body, but of the soule, to make vs free from it, and to redeeme vs from the curse and malediction of the law, vnto the honorable state of the children of God. But as for the ciuyll burthens, he deliuered vs not from them, but rather commaunded vs to pay them. Geue, geue, (sayth he) to Cesar obedience, tribute, and all thinges due to Cesar.

Christ came not to deliuer from ciuil burthen.

For the vnderstanding of this texte, it shall be very needfull to consider the circumstaunce going before: which thing duely considered, geueth a great light to all places of

Speciall notes to be obserued for the better vnderstanding of ỹ scriptures.

the Scripture: who spake these wordes, to whome they were spoken, vpon what occasion, and afore whome. Therefore I will take the whole fragment and shred, taken out of Gods booke for the gospell of this day, written in the gospell of Mathew, the xxij. chapter. *Tunc abierunt Pharisei.* Then went the pharisies, and toke a counsell, Luke hath, *Obseruantes*, marking, spying, lokyng, twting, watchyng, like subtile, craftye, and sleightie fellowes, they toke a counsell, and sente to him their disciples, which should fayne themselues iust men, godly men, glad to learne his doctrine: and with them Herodes seruantes, to trap him in his wordes: and they sayd to him: Master, we know that thou art a true man, and teachest the way of God, *in veritate*, truely, and carest for no man: for thou regardest not the personage of man. Tell vs therefore: what thinkest thou: Is it lawfull to geue Cesar tribute money, or no: This was their questiõ ỹ they would haue snared him with. In answering him to this they would haue caught him by the fote. But Iesus, *cognita malitia eorum*: knowing they: mallice, their wickednes, their vncharitablenes, sayde to them: Hypocrites, why do ye tempt me? Shew me a peece of ỹ tribute mony. And they brought him a peny. And he sayd to them: Whose image is this, and the writting: They answered: Cesars. He sayd to them: Geue to Cesar, that belongeth to Cesar, and to God, that that is Gods.

Beware of subtile and dissembling flatterers

A crafty & subtile question.

A godly & prudent answer.

Thus ye may perceiue, it was our Sauiour Christ, that spake these wordes, and they were spoken vnto the pharisees that tempted him. But they be a doctrine vnto vs, that are Christes disciples. For whose wordes should we delighte to heare and learne, but the wordes and doctrine of our Sauiour Christ?

And that I may at this time so declare them, as may be for Gods glory, your edifying, and my discharge, I pray you all to helpe me with your prayers,

In the which prayer. &c. For the vniuersall Churche of Christ throughe the whole worlde. &c. For the preseruation of our soueraigne Lord king Edward the vj. sole supreme head vnder God and Christ, of the churches of Englande and Ire-

land,

land. &c. Secondly for the kinges most honorable counsell: Thirdly I commend vnto you the soules departed this life in the faith of Christ, that ye remember to geue laudes, prayse and thankes to almighty God for his great goodnes and mercy shewed vnto them, in that great neede and conflict agaynst the deuill and sinne, and that gaue them at the houre of death fayth in his sonnes death and passion, whereby they might conquere and ouercome, and get the victory. Geue thankes I say for this, adding prayers and supplications for your selues, that it may please God to geue you the like fayth and grace, to trust onely vnto the death of hys deare sonne, as he gaue vnto them. For as they be gone, so must we: and the deuill will be as ready to tempt vs, as he was them, and our sinnes will light as heauy vpon vs as theirs did vpon them: And we are as weake and vnable to resiste, as were they. Praye therefore that we may haue grace to die in the same fayth of Christ as they did, and at the latter day be rayled with Abraham Isaac and Jacob, and be partakers wyth Christ in the kingdome of heauen: for this, and grace, let vs say the Lordes prayer.

The deuill redy to tempt vs at the houre of death.

Tvnc abeuntes. Tunc, It hangeth on a text before. Christ tolde them a similitude that the kingdome of heauen is like to a king that made a bridale to hys sonne, he maryed his sonne, and sent his seruauntes out to bid hys gestes. Well they woulde not come although he had made great preparing and much coste for them: ambicion, couetousnes, and crueltie woulde not let them come. Then he sent his warriours and destroyed them: and againe sent other seruauntes to bidde gestes to hys bridall, hand ouer heade come who woulde. They did hys bidding, and the house was full of gestes. The king now would vew hys gestes: and finding there one not cladde in marying garmentes, he asked hym: frende how camest thou here, not hauing a maryage garment? And commaunded to bynde hym hand and foote, and cast him into vtter darcknes: there was wayling and grinding of teeth. For many be called and fewe be chosen. Now Christ expoundeth this. The kingdome

The liefe ſomme of the Goſpell.

of heauen is preaching of the Goſpell. This mariage is the ioyning of Chriſt and his Church, which was begonne by by Chriſt heare in earth, and ſhall continue to the ende of the worlde. The bidders of his geſtes are preachers, but here are ſo many lettes and hinderances: couetouſnes is a let, ambicion is a let, crueltie is the greateſt let: For they beat his ſeruauntes, brake their heades, yea murthered them, which bad them to this bridall. With this the king was angry, and ſent his men of warre to deſtroy thoſe vnthankefull people. Was he not angry with couetouſnes and with ambition? Yes he is angry with couetous men, with ambitious men: But moſt of all with crueltie. This is an anger aboue common anger, when men be not onely vnthankefull, but alſo adde crueltie to perſecute the preachers, that commeth to call vs to thys mariage. This toucheth God ſo nigh, that he ſayth. *Qui vos audit, me audit.* This cruelty the king would not leaue vnpuniſhed, but ſent forth his men of warre. They are called hys men of warre, his men, his men, for warres come at his commaundement. Titus and Veſpaſian ſent of God to puniſhe thoſe couetous Iewes, ambicious Iewes, cruell Iewes, that would not credit Chriſt, nor beleue the preaching of ſaluation. Now in warre what part ſo euer get the victory, that is Gods part, that is Gods hoſt. Nabuchodonoſor was an euill man, a wicked man, yet was he ſent of God to puniſhe the ſtubburne and couetous Iewes for their ambicion, and crueltie, and forſaking Gods moſt holy worde: And he is called in Scripture Gods ſeruaunt. It is no good argument. He hath the victory, Ergo he is a good man. But thys is a good argument. He hath the victory, Ergo God was on his ſide, and by him puniſhed the contrary parte. The preachers called good and bad. They can doe no more but call, God is he that muſt bring in, God muſt open the hartes, as it is in the Actes of the Apoſtles. When Paule preached to the women, there was a ſilke woman *Cuius cor deus aperuit*, whoſe hart God opened. None could open it but God. Paule coulde but onely preach, God muſt worke, God muſt doe the thing inwardly. But good and bad came. Therefore the preaching

Chriſt abhorreth couetouſnes, ambicion, but ſpecially crueltie.

The victory is Gods.

Preachers are the meſſengers to call good & bad to come to Chriſtes banquet.

ching is likened to a Fyshers net, that taketh good fishe and bad, and draweth all to the shoare. In the whole multitude that professe the Gospell, all be not good, all cannot away with the mortifiyng of their flesshe, they will with good will beare the name of Christians, of Gospellers, but to do the dedes they grudge, they repine, they can not away with it. Among the Apostles, all were not honest, nay, one was a deuill, so among so great number of Gospellers some are carde Gospellers, some are dice Gospellers, some pot Gospellers, all are not good, all seeke not amendment of life. Then commeth the king to see his gestes. And findeth one not hauing the mariage garment, and saith to him: Frende how camest thou hether, and hast not the mariage garment? Faith is the mariage garment, not a fained faith without good liuing, but faith that worketh by loue. He was blamed because he professed one thing, and was in deede another. Why did he not blame the preachers? There was no fault in them, they did their duties, they had no further commaundement but to call them to the mariage. The garment he should haue prouided hym selfe. Therefore he quarrelleth not with the preachers: what doth thys felow here? Why suffered ye him to enter? etc. For their commission extended no further but onely to call hym. Many are greeued that there is so littell fruite of their preachinge. And when as they are asked: why doe you not preach hauing so great giftes geuen you of God? I woulde preach say they, but I see so litle fruite, so little amendment of life, that it maketh me weary. A noughty aunswere, a very noughty aunswere. Thou art troubled with that God gaue thee no charge of, and leauest vndone, that thou art charged with. God commaundeth thee to preach, and *Si no locutus fueris*. If thou speake not, if thou warne not the wicked that they turne and amende, they shall perish in their iniquities. *Sanguinem autem eius de manu tua requiram*. Thys texte nippeth, this pincheth, this toucheth the quicke. He shall die in his wickednes, but I will require his blonde at thy hand. Harken well to this, marke it well ye curats, I wil aske his blonde at thy hand. If you doe not your office, if ye

The similitude of the net.

Diuers sortes of Gospellers.

The mariage garment.

A good lesson for preachers.

teach not the people, and warne them not, you shall be damned for it. If you do your office, you are discharged. *Tuam animam liberasti.* Warne them therfore to leaue their wickednes, their couetousnes, their ambition, their cruelty, vnmercifulnes. &c. and thou hast saued thine owne soule. For there was no quarell with the preachers, but he was cast in prison, where was weeping and wayling, and grinding of teeth: these were his delicates. *Multi sunt vocati,* Many are called but fewe are chosen. To this parable now ioyneth this Gospell. *Tunc Pharisei abeuntes.* *Pharisei* was a secte of religion among the Iewes most exquisite, perfect, holy, & learned, and were reputed most godly men, euen such as in holines excelled all other, as our Monkes were of late among vs, and be yet in other places. They were in Gods bosome, euen at heauē gates in the sight of the world: But inwardly superstitious, fayned, holow harted, dissimulers. Now at this tyme I know none more like them, then the hipocriticall holow harted papistes. The name is chainged, but the thing remaineth. Therefore they may well be called by the name, that keepe the thing. These were enemies to Christ and his doctrine. They would be ordred by olde wonte, customes, forefathers: and to maintaine their traditions, set aside the commaundements of God, refused Christ and his worde. S. Luke hath *obseruantes*, obseruauntes, that is watchers, towters, spies, much like the obseruaunt Fryers, the barefote Fryers, that were here, which in deede were the Byshop of Romes spies, watching in euery countrey, what was sayd or done against him. He had it by & by, by one or other of his spies, they were his mē all together, his postes to worke against the Regalitie. In the court, in the noble mens houses, at euery marchauntes house, those obseruaunts were spying, towting, and loking, watching & prying, what they might heare or see against the sea of Rome. Take hede of these obseruauntes. To vnderstand the worde *obseruantes*, marke what the Poet saith in his comedie. *Obserua Dauum,* Take heede, beware & marke *Dauum,* for they will be stirring in euery towne, in euery gentlemans house, yea at their very tables: well, be wise, beware of them. *Interim Concilium.*

Learne to discharge your selues.

The name of Papistes is chainged, but their dissimulation remaineth still.

There was an order of Fryers called obseruauntes, which were commō spies in euery realme.

Beware of false harlotes.

cilium. They take a counsell, some godly thing, some waighty matter, I am sure, that these holy fathers consulte vpon. It must nedes be for the common wealth, and the profite of many, that these holy fathers come together for. It was to snarle or trap him in his wordes. This was their deuice, this was their counsell. To this ende they gather such a company of holy fathers. A counsell, a counsell. *Bonum est concilium*, sayd one. Yea marry quod an other: *sed bonorum*. A counsell is good, yea sy? if it be of good men. For els what is a counsell, if it be wicked, of wicked me? If they say: This was done by a counsell, determined in a counsell, what is it the better, if the counsell be wicked? Nicene counsell was gathered of a great number of Bishoppes and learned men: yet had not one man bene, they had determined contrary to Gods worde. They were minded, and earnestly bent to make a decree that no Priest should mary: but one olde man, and vnmaried himself, withstode that acte, and turned the counselles minde, so that they medled not with that decree. And why? more credence is to be geuen to one man hauing the holy word of God for him, then to x. thousand without the worde. If it agree with Gods worde, it is to be receiued: if it agree not, it is not to be receiued, though a counsell, yea though an aungell from heauen had determined it. Truth it is that Christ graunteth to a cō-gregation gathered in his name, to be amonges them, yea though it be but two or three. There is as much graunted to two or three, as to ten thoulād, so they come in Christes name. *Vbi duo vel tres congregati sunt in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum*. *In nomine meo*, much wickednes is done. *In nomine domini*, when they come together, seking their owne priuate lust, pleasures, & ambicious desires, it is not in *in nomine domini*. But to seke Gods glory, Christes glory, Christes true religion, that is, *in nomine Christi*, and then they are to be heard. But what was these mens counsell? *Vt illaquearēt eum in sermone*. To snarle or tangle him in his wordes, twters and watchers to catch him in his worde, that they might enforce somwhat against him: *Non est cōcilium aduersus dominū*: These were wily pies, sleighty children, children of the worlde, and craftely

A counsell of good men is good.

One man hauing the word of God, preuaileth against a whole counsell.

The name of the Lord is shamefully abused by the Papacy.

craftely they handled their matters. *Miserunt discipulos suos cum Herodianis.* The woulde not goe themselues, least they might haue bene knowen, but he knew not their disciples as they thought. And they went not alone, but had with them Herodes Souldiers, Herodes fauourers. This Herod was an Idumean, and was appointed by the Romaines to gouerne the Iewes, and to gather the tribute money. Therefore he was hated among the Iewes and so were those that fauoured the Romaines part, and in disdayne they were called Herodians. Now was the tyme come, that the holy Patriarke prophecied, that the Scepter and kingdome was remoued, and Christ was borne. This they should haue marked, and receiued his doctrine. But they went about to destroy him, and therefore they brought the Herodians with them. Here now is an agrément in wickednes betwene the Phariseis and the Herodians, against the truth, against Christ, against Gods worde they agrée together, where as in déede neyther loued other, but hated ech other as a Toade. So many now a dayes of our Phariseis Papistes, in destroying the truth they agrée wonderous well: where as in priuate matters, they hate one another as a Toade.

The Iewes, Pharisees, and Heathen agree against Christ.

Here commeth me now these holy fathers from their counsell, and send their Disciples with the Herodians: marke their behauiour, and marke Christes behauiour. They come lowting and with low curtesy, as though they would créepe into his bosome: as for Herodes men, they meddle not, but stand by to heare the tale as witnesses, and if he should speake any thing amisse, be ready to lay handes vpon him. They woulde fayne ridde hym and destroy him, but they woulde turne the enuie of the déede vpon Herode, so that they woulde be séene faultes. It had bene more méete for them to haue councelde how to amende their faultes and to haue come to Christ to learne his doctrine, then to studie maliciously to trappe him, and to destroy him. What sayde they? *Magister scimus quod verax es. &c.* Master we know that thou art a true man, and teachest the way of God truely, maister we know that thou art Comme truth, and thou tellest the very truth

Ypocrites seme lowly to the world, whē they entend most mischiefe.

The salutation of Ypocrites.

truth, and spareth for no man. Thou art plaine Tom truth. Goodly words, but out of a cankard stomacke and malicious hart. Smiling speakers creepe into a mans bosome, they loue and all to loue him, they fauour his worde and call him maister, and yet would gladly see him hanged. These are in deede Hipocrites, one in hart, and another in mouth. We know that thou art a true man. *Et viam dei in veritate doces.* Yea this is Gods way taught truely. There is Gods way and mans way: Many teach mens way, but that should not be: we should learne *viam dei*, Gods way, and that truely, without mixture, temperature, blaunching, powdering. Many teach Gods way, and shall preach a very good and godly Sermon, but at the last they will haue a blaunched almonde, one little peece of Popery patched in, to pouder their matter with, for their owns lucre and glory. They make a mingling of the way of God and mans way together, a mingle mangle as men serue Pigs in my countrey. Christ did not so. He taught the way of God truely without mixture, poudring or blaunching. These be the properties of all true preachers, that these cõfesse to be in Christ. It was true euery word that they spake. Christ is our maister appointed of God, he was true and taught Gods way, not mans way, truely, not blaunching it with mans doctrine. So should we preachers be true men. Preachers of Gods way, truely, truely, without regarde of person, hat is for no mans pleasure corrupting the word, or mingle mangle the worde with mans inuentions and traditions.

Blaunchers of Gods truth.

Here may patrons of benefices learne vpon what maner a man they should bestow their benefice. Upon a true man, a teacher. He may not be to learne, and a Scholer when he should teach other, but one learned, hable to teach, hable and well willing to discharge his cure. But what doe you patrons? Sell your benefices, or geue them to your seruants for their seruice, for kéeping of hounds, haukes, for making of your gardens. These patrons regard no soules, neither their owne, nor other mens. What care they for soules, so they haue money, though they perish, though they go to the Deuil:

Patrons of benefices.

Where

Where as in dede the office of a patrone is to haue a care, a zeale, a vigilant eye, for soule health, and to prouide for hys Churches, that he is patrone of, that they might be taught in Gods word. Truely many now a dayes, striue to be patrones of benefices, and goe to the law who should be patrone. And what striue they for thinke ye? Euen which of thē shall goe to the deuill first. For they regard not soule health, nor the office of preaching, the office of saluation: where as in dede therefore are they patrons to loke to it and to see it be prouided for. God of his goodnes & almighty power, might ordaine other wayes and meanes of saluation: but this office of preaching is it, that God hath ordained, as Saint Paule saith. *Cum non cognouerit mundus per sapientiam deum, placuit deo per stultitiam prædicationis saluos facere credentes.* Where as the worlde by his wisdome knew not God, it pleased God by foolishe preaching to saue *credentes*, those that beleue, *per stultitiam prædicationis*, by foolishnes of preaching, or foolishe preaching, it maketh no matter. Not that it was foolishe in dede, but that the wise men of the worlde did so estéeme and take the preaching of the Gospell, wheras in dede it is most godly wisdome: and the preaching office, is the office of saluation, and the onely meanes that God hath appointed to saluation. *Credentes.* Those that beleue be saued by this holy office of preaching. I would wishe it were better loked vnto, and prouided for, and that patrons and Byshops should see more diligently to it, thē hath bene done afore time: I would aske no more diligence to this office of saluation, then men are wont to bestow vpon these worldly pleasures and luker or commodities. Naye would they bestow but the half labour and paynes, and some litell part of the expences, it were well.

Wherefore patrons do striue.

The office of saluation.

To consider what hath bene pluckt from Abbeyes, Colledges, and Chaūtries: it is meruell no more to be bestowed vpō this holy office of saluation. It may well be sayde by vs that the Lord complaineth by his Prophet. *Domus mea deserta, vos festinatis vnusquisque in domum suam.* What is Christes house but christen soules: but who maketh any prouision for them? euery man scrapeth and getteth together for hys bodely

Christē soules are Christes house.

bodilie house: but the soules health is neglected, scholes are maintayned, scholers haue not exhibition, the preaching office decayeth: men prouide lands and riches for their children, but this most necessary office, they for the most part, neglect. Very selue there be that helpe poore scholers, that sette their children to schole to learne the worde of God, and to make a prouision for the age to come. This notwithstanding is the onely way to saluation. God will not deuise any new way, as farre as I perceiue: but would haue vs to vse this way ordeyned already. This preaching way we ought to vse, and not to looke for any new way, this office of saluation, we ought to maintaine, and not loke for any other. My request is that ye would bestow as much to the maintenance of this necessary office of saluation, as ye were wont to bestow in times past vpon Romish trifles, and thinges of mans traditions. Neyther do I now speake for my selfe and my conent, as the begging friers were wont to do. I haue enough, I thanke God, and I neede not to begge. I would euery preacher were as well prouided as my selfe through this realme, as indeed I thincke them as well worthy as my selfe. I wish (I say) ye would bestowe as much vpon this necessary office of saluation, as in times past, ye bestowed in pilgrimages, in images, in gilding, paynting, in Masses, diriges, trentals, chauntries and such vaine things of the Romish Pharisies and papists inuenting. Ye would do that without calling, and to this will you not be ready when ye be called. If it be no better in time to come, then hetherto loked vnto, then England will at the last bewayle it. Christ knew what a charge hangeth vppon this necessary office of preaching, the office of saluation, and therefore most earnestly applyed it himselfe. And when he chose his twelue Apostles to send them forth vnto this office, he first prayed all the night. He being God almighty with the father, might haue geuen all giftes fitte for this office, but to teach vs, he would first pray all night. Here is good matter for bishops and patrones to loke vpon, and not to regarde so little, whome they geue their benefice vnto, or whome they admitte to cure the soules they haue charge of. A notable example. Christ prayed

God will deuise no new way.

Great riches vainly bestowed.

What a charge hangeth vpon the office of preaching.

all

Note this ye patrons.

all night, ere he would ſend them forth, ere he would put them in this preaching office, this moſt neceſſarie office of ſaluation. For he ſaw that they had neede of great zeale to God, and to ſoules health, that ſhould take vpon them to kéepe ſoules, and a bolde courage and ſpirite, that ſhould rebuke the world of theyr ſinne and wickednelle.

Many will chuſe nowe ſuche a Curate for theyr ſoules, as the may call ſole, rather then one that ſhall rebuke theyr couetouſnes, ambition, vnmercifulnes, vncharitablenes, that ſhall be ſober, diſcrete, apt to reproue, and reſiſt the gainſayers, with the word of God.

The properties of a good preachers.

These be the properties of euery good Preacher, to be a true man, to teache, not dreames, nor inuentions of men, but *Viam Dei in veritate*: The waye of God truely, and not to regarde the perſonage of man. Not to créepe into his boſome, to claw his backe, to ſay to the wicked: he doth well, for filthy lukers ſake. Ah theſe flatterers: No greater miſchiefe in the common wealthe, then theſe flatterers. But who woulde haue diſcerned thys, but pure Sauiour Jeſus Chriſte? He ſpyed them out, and knewe all theyr malitious hartes, theyr vncharitable hartes, theyr diſſimuling hartes, and ſayd:

Flatterers are to be abhorred.

Quid me tentatis, hypocritæ.

Hypocrites.

Hypocrites, Hypocrites, Hypocrites, one in hart, an other in mouth, fayre in pretence, but full of miſchiefe, and malicious hatred wythin. He ſaw what was within. Then haue at ye, yée Hypocrites, they put forth theyr queſtion: *Licet cenſum dare Cæſari, an non?*

A ſubtile & captious queſtion.

A perilous queſtion to aunſwere to. This was the fruite of theyr counſell, and thys was the ſnare layd for him, what ſhould he dw now? Holde hys peace? That had bene a ſlaunder to hys doctrine. They would haue ſayd: Loe, how ignoraunt he is in the Lawe, that hath no aunſwere to this ſimple and playne queſtion. If he affirme, and bidde pay the tribute, he ſhall incurre the hatred of the people, and ſéeme to ſpeake in the fauour of the Romaynes. If he woulde haue de-

[illegible] Then had they that they ſoughte for. The Herodi-

ans

ans were ready to lay handes vpon him, to haue him to Bocardo, to prison with him, a traytour that speaketh agaynst Cesar, away with this seditious fellow.

O Lorde, what perill is it to haue to do wyth these hypocrites? Who could haue scaped thys snare, but Christ onely, which is the wisedome of the Father, and knew all theyr maliciousnes and crafty sleightes? And, as he then by his wisedome ouercame them, so now doubtles he geueth wisedome to all his, to spye out and beware of theyr subtile craftes. For such traynes, trappes, snares, and subtleties, as these Pharisees layd for Christ, such haue our pharisaicall papistes layed for Christes preachers. But he mercifully euer fulfilled hys promise, *Dabo os et sapientiam, cui non possunt resistere omnes aduersarij vestri.* I will (sayth Christ) geue mouth and wisedome, which all your aduersaries shall not be able to resiste. They shall not be tongue tyed, they haue theyr aunswere, yea so wise, that theyr aduersaries shall not be able to resist. They may well oppresse it here in thys world with power, but they can not be able to ouercomme it with argumentes of truthe, no, all the packe of aduersaries, with all theyr subtleties, snares, and ginnes. They may rayle vppon it, as in many places lewd felowes do against priestes mariages. That dame, his wife, his whore. &c.

God geueth wisedome.

Papistes rayle, but not able to confute.

But they can not deny it by any Scripture, but that the mariage of priestes is as good and godly, as the mariage of any other man. For wedlocke is honorable among all men. And the wedded bedde vndefiled. And to auoyde fornication, let euery man haue his owne wife. Well, let them rayle, let them doo what they can, agaynst the truthe. *Respice finem:* marke the ende: loke vpon the ende. The ende is, all aduersaries of the truth, must be confounded and come to naught, neyther shall they be able to resiste it. And thoughe the poore disciples be troubled, vexed, and persecuted: marke the ende. The hyest promotion that God can bring hys vnto in thys lyfe, is to suffer for hys truth. And it is the greatest setting forth of hys worde, it is Gods seede. And one suffering for the truthe, turneth more then a thousande Sermons. I

Mariage of priestes is lawfull by Gods worde.

will

will tell you an example of thys, howe God geueth mouthe and wisedome.

Latimer how he was persecuted.

I was once in examination before fiue or sixe Bishops, where I had much turmoyling: euery weeke thrise I came to examinations, and many snares and trappes were layed to get some thing. Now God knoweth, I was ignorant of the law, but that God gaue me aunswere and wisedome what I should speake. It was God indeed, for els I had neuer escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined, into a chamber hanged with Arras, where I was before wont to be examined, but now at this time the chamber was somewhat altered. For wheras before there was wont euer to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an Arras hanging hanged ouer the chimney, and the table stode neare the chimneys ende: so that I stode betweene the table, and the chimneyes ende. There was among these Bishops that examined me, one with whome I haue bene very familiar, and take him for my great frende, an aged man, and he sat next the tables ende.

The subtile maner vsed in the examination of Latimer.

Then among all other questions, he put forth one, a very subtile and craftie one, and such a one in deede, as I could not thincke so great daunger in. And when I shoulde make aunswere: I pray you, M. Latimer, (sayd he) speake out: I am very thicke of hearing, and here be many that sitte far of. I marueiled at this, that I was bidden speake out, and began to misdeeme, and gaue an eare to the chimney. And sir there I hearde a penne walking in the chimney behinde the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine aunswers, for they made sure worke that I should not start from them. there was no starting from them.

God was my good Lorde, and gaue me aunswere, I could neuer els haue escaped it. The question was thys: Maister Latimer, do you not thincke on your conscience, that you haue bene suspected of heresie? A subtile question, a very subtile question. There was no holding of peace, would I serue. To holde my peace, had bene to graunte my selfe faultye. To aunswere, it was euery way full of daunger. But God

A subtile question.

which

which alway hath geuē me answere, helped me, or els I could neuer haue escaped it, and delinered me from their handes. Many one haue had the like gracious deliuerance, and bene endued with Gods wisedome, & Gods spirite, which all their aduersaries cā not be able to resist. *Ostendite mihi numisma census:* Shew me sayd he a peny of the tribute money. They layde snares to destroy them, but he ouerturneth thē in their owne traps. *Qui cōprehendit astutos in fallacia eorū:* He taketh the crafty in their owne subtill ginnes & snares, but not maliciously to destroy them, as they maliciously would haue sēne him hanged, but mercifully to turne them from their wicked imaginations, that they might consider that no wisedome, no subtill crafte, nor counsell is against the Lord, and so repent and become new men. *At illi obtulerunt illi denarium:* And they brought him a *denari*, a pēce of their currant coyne that was worth x. of our vsuall pence, such an other pēce as our Testorne. And he said: *Cuius est imago hæc & superscriptio? dicunt ei, Cæsaris:* Whose image is this & superscription? They sayd Ceasars: for now was Iewry brought vnder ỳ bondage of the Romanes, and therefore vsed they the Romane coyne, that had vpon it both Ceasars image, and Ceasars superscription. Then answered Iesus: *Reddite ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, & quæ sunt Dei Deo:* Pay to Ceasar that is due to Ceasar, and to God that which is due to God.

Make not a mingle mangle of them, but geue to God his owne, geue to Ceasar his owne. To God geue thy soule, thy fayth, thy hope, thy obedient minde to kēpe his worde and frame thy life thereafter. To Ceasar geue tribute, tare, subsidie, and all other dueties perteining to him, as to haue him in thy honour & reuerence, to obey his iust lawes and rightwise commaundementes. &c. Geue eche his owne.

But because the time is past, I will here make an end for this forenoone, desiring you to pray to God for his helpe: for at after noone I purpose to begin againe at this text, and to goe forth as God shall geue me his grace. Now let vs all say together ỳ Lordes prayer: Our father which art in heauē. &c.

¶ The residue of the Gospell declared after noone by M. Latimer.



Eddite Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris, & quæ sunt Dei, Deo: Yelde to Cæsar that belõgeth to Cæsar, & to God that belongeth to God.

Ye may perceaue by that we haue sayd, who spake these wordes, and vpon what occasion they were spokẽ. Our Sauiour Christ spake them to the tempting Phariseis, to the craftie and subtill hollowe harted Phariseis, willing them to know their duetie by their owne confession, and to geue to Ceasar his duetie, and to God his duetie. Our Sauiour Christ spake them. If he spake them, we ought to regard them. Regarde them I say, and make much of them, for though they were then spoken to them, yet in them they were spoken to all the world, I vse to make a rehearsall of that I spake before, but because the time is short, I will omitte it. The seruice must be done, and ỳ day goeth fast away. Therfore I will to my matter, and leaue the rehearsall.

These wordes be wordes of great importance, and would well be considered: for he that doth this, receaueth great benefites by it, but he that doth it not incurreth great dammage and danger. The occasion was a councell taken among these holy fathers to snarle Christ, a good and charitable dede, yet were they holy men, holy fathers, full of charitie vp to the hard eares. This they learned in their councell, and this now they set on broche. But Christ now causeth them to make answere to their owne question, as he also did a litle before. When he was come vp into Ierusalem, and had driuen out the byers and sellers in the temple, the Archphariseis, Prouincials, and Abbots Phariseis, came stoutly to him as he was preaching in the temple, and sayd to him: *Qua authoritate ista facis? aut quis dedit tibi istam authoritatẽ?* By what authoritie dost thou these thinges? who hath geuen thée this authoritie? We haue the rule of the people of God, we haue geuen thée no such authoritie. A wonderous thing, Christ had

They answere their owne question.

testimony

testimony of his father. This is my beloued sonne heare him. John had borne him witnesse, saying: Beholde the Lambe of God, that taketh away the sinnes of the world. His workes and miracles were testimonies that his doctrine was of God. Well, all this would not serue: Ye must haue licence of these holy fathers, or els all is nothing worth. Christ aunswered not directly to their question, but asked them an other question, and made them geue answere against them selues, and as it were with one wedge driued out an other. The Baptisme of John, was it of God, or of man? Was John sent of God? had he his authoritie of God or of man? Here he driueth them to confesse his doctrine to be of God. For John whom they could not denye to haue bene sent from God, bare witnesse that his doctrine was true. If they had cõfessed this, he would haue inferred, why beleue ye him not? If they should haue sayd, John was not of God, then would all the people haue bene against them: yea in a hurly burly haue stoned them. This they considered within them selues, and yet their malicious hartes would not beare it to confesse the truth: nay rather like wise gentlemen they answered: We know not, we can not tell.

Christes authoritie geuen from God his father.

The Phariseis confesse ignorancie.

These Arch Phariseis thought nothing might be done, or taught, without their license, nor otherwise, but as they pleased to interprete. They were like our religion and Clergy, that thought nothing might be taught, but as they pleased. They would pay no tribute, care nor tribute. They had their immunities, priuiledges, and grauntes, from the Romane Bishop. And to maintaine this, they alledged many Scriptures, as thus: *Nolite tangere Christos meos*: which is, touch not mine annointed or consecrated people. Which wordes the Lorde spake by the Israelites in Egypt, warning king Pharao to leaue and ceasse from persecuting the Israelites: and it maketh as much for our Clergyes immunitie, and proueth it as well, as if a mã alledged, *quem terra pontus*, to proue that an Ape hath a taile. Well, they answered, *Cæsaris*, Ceasars, they confessed it was Ceasars money, & Ceasars image and writing vpon it. Here Christ compelled them to make

A good proofe.

answere vnto their owne question. And if enuie should arise, to take it thē selues. For they confessed it to be Ceasars. Then said he: Geue to Ceasar that which is Ceasars, & to God that is due to God. This answere of Christ I would haue you all to learne: geue to your Ceasar to your king, to our most noble K. Edward our Ceasar, our king and magistrate appointed, and geuen to vs of God, geue to him that which is due to him. This is a cōmaundement of God, as are these: Thou shalt not murther. Thou shalt not steale. Nor beare false witnesse against thy neighbours. And as thou art bound vpon perill of thy soule to obey the other: so vpon perill of thy soule thou art bound to obey and kepe this. Loke well vpon it, for it is vpon perill of thy soule. *Date*, geue, geue, a heauie worde to a couetous hart, to a rebellious hart, they would not heare *reddite*, or *date*, pay or geue, but take, catch, kepe fast. We are all bound to liue in obedience vnto our king, vnder his iust and rightwise lawes and commaundementes. Christ came in deede to deliuer vs from burthens and bondage, but that was not frō ciuill & politicke lawes and obedience. He came to deliuer vs from the greatest bondage that can be, from sinne and damnation. The heauiest burthen that can be, is sinne, and in compari on of it, all other burthens are but light and easie matters to beare. Therefore Christ came to deliuer vs from that, and gaue his body to be torne vpon the crosse for that. Neither could any worke or lawe, or sacrifice, redeeme vs frō that, but Christ onely. I neuer preached in Lincolne shire afore, nor came here afore, saue once when I went to take orders at Lincolne, which was a good while agoe, therefore I can not say much of Lincolne shire, for I know it not: but I dare say, if Lincolne shire be as other places that I know, this text condemneth a great many of Lincolne shire, and driueth them downe to hell for breaking of this commaundement: Geue to Ceasar that which is due to Ceasar, and to God that which is due to God. The office of a Magistrate is grounded vpon Gods worde, and is plainly described of Saint Paule writing vnto the Romaines, where he sheweth that all soules, that is to say, all men

Geue to our Ceasar.

Geue, is an heauie worde to some.

Sinne is the heauiest burden.

Lincolne shire.

men ought to obey the magistrates, for they are ordayned of God: and to resiste them, is to resiste against God. For he is Gods minister ordayned to punish the wicked, and to maintayne the good. Wherefore we ought to pay to him tribute, custome, tares, and other thinges that he requireth vpon vs, as Christ sayth here, *Reddite*, Geue to Cesar. Howe muche we should geue, he defineth not, but leaueth it to Cesars officers to determine, and to his councell to appoynte. Christ was not the Emperoures treasurer, therefore he medled not wyth that poynt, but left it to the treasurer to define and determine. He went about an other vocation, to preache vnto the people theyr dutie, and to obay theyr Princes, Kinges, Emperoures, and Magistrates, and to bidde them geue that the King requireth of them, not to appoynt a King, what he shall require of them. It is méete for euery man to kéepe his owne vocation, and diligently walke in it, and wyth sayth-fulnesse to studye to be occupyed in that, that God hath called him vnto, and not to be busie in that God hath not called him vnto. Therefore (sayth Christ) Geue to Cesar, but he appoynteth not how much, for that should hys treasurer knowe and should warne him of it, when he hath enough, that the people be not oppressed with vnnecessary burthens, nor that the kinges treasures be to séeke, when they should be occupyed. The king must haue hys treasures aforehande, what chaunce so euer come sodenly. It is no reason when the king should occuppe hys treasure in mayntenaunce of a common wealthe, in defence of a countrey, in mayntayning of hys warres, that then hys money should be in thy purse to séeke, and vngathered. Nay he must it haue in a redines, at hande, that it be not to séeke. And he must haue as much as is necessary for him. For so much is due to a king as is necessary, and so much may he require by the lawe of God, and take of hys commons as is necessary. And that must not thou, nor I, that are subiectes appoint, but the king hymselfe must appoynte it, hys counsell must appoynt it, we must geue it, we must geue it, we must pay it, for it is due to the Kyng, and vppon peryll of thy soule thou must pay it. And as he that taketh

All magistrates are ordayned of God.

Christ was not K. treasurer.

The treasurers dutie.

How much a king may take.

my typpet or my cloke doth me wrong, and is a theefe: so he that doth not pay to the king that is hys due, wythout fraude or guile, doth the kyng wrong, and is in perill of hys soule for so doing. Well, marke it well nowe, and see whether thys texte be a nipping text for couetous men, or no: Geue to Cesar, that is due to Cesar.

When the parliament, the high courte of thys realme is gathered together, and there it is determined that euery man shall pay a xb. part of his goodes to the king: Then commissions come forth, and he that in sight of men, in hys cattell, corne, sheepe; and other goodes is worth an C. Marke, or an C. pound, wyll set him selfe at x. pounde: he will be worth no more to the kyng, but after x. pounde. Tell me nowe whether thys be theefte or no: Hys cattell, corne, sheepe in euery mans eyes, shall be worth two C. pounde, besides other thinges, as money and plate, and he will marry hys daughter, and geue wyth her iiij. or v. C. Marke, and yet at the valuation, he will be a xx. pound man. Doth he geue to Cesar that which is due to Cesar? Doth he not rather robbe the kyng of hys bound duetie and debt, that he ought to the king? yes it is very theft, and thou mightest with as good conscience take my cloke or my typpet from me, as so vniustlie take, or wythholde from the kyng, that which the Parliament hath geuen vnto the kyng, it is thy bound duetie to pay him truelie that which is graunted: for it is due debte, and vppon perill of thy soule thou art bounde to obey it. Yea I will say more: If the king should require of thee an vniust request, yet art thou bound to pay it, and not resist nor rebell against the king. The king in deede is in perill of hys soule, for asking of an vniust request, and God will in hys due time reckon with him for it: but thou must obey thy kyng, and not take vpon thee to iudge him, God is the kinges Iudge, and doubtlesse will grieuouslie punishe him, if he do any thing vnrighteouslie. Therefore pray thou for thy king, and pay him his duety, and disobay him not. And know this, that whensoeuer there is any iniust exaction layd vpon thee, it is a plague and punishment for thy sinne, as all other plagues are, as

Twenty pond men to ỹ king.

The king may be vniust.

are

are hunger, dearth, pestilence, and such other. We marueyle we are plagued as we be, and thincke verely this vniust and vnfaythfull dealing with our princes, is one great cause of our plague: loke therefore euery man vppon his conscience. Ye shal not be iudged by worldly policie at the latter day, but by Gods word. *Sermo quem locutus sum vobis, ipse iudicabit vos in nouissimo die.* The woorde that I haue spoken to you, that shall iudge you at the latter day. Loke well now, euery man vpon his conscience, and see whether he haue done thys commaundement of God, Geue to your Kyng, that which is due to him, and he that findeth him selfe guiltie, let him amende in time to come. This is harde geare, and sore geare thou wilt say, Geue, geue, I haue wyfe and children, and great charge: well I shall tell thée, It minisheth not thy stocke one farthing at the yeares ende. Harcken what God sayth: *Si audieritis verba mea:* If you will heare my wordes, (sayth God) and keepe that I commaunde thée, I will blesse thée, and *Si non audieritis:* If ye will not heare my wordes, and do my commaundementes, you shall be cursed. &c. What is blessing? Not wagging of the fingers, as our Bysshoppes were wont: but it is: I will fauoure thée, and encrease thy goodes, thy corne, thy cattell, thy oxe, thy sheepe, and in all thy businesse thou shalt prosper, and goe forwarde. And what is the curse, but to be out of Gods fauour, I will empouerishe thée, thy corne, thy corne, thy cattell, thy Oxe, thy sheepe shall not prosper, what thou takest in hande, it shall not goe forwarde. Thys was not taught in times past: men had pilgrimages, images, Palles, trentalles. &c. But I woulde haue you muse of these two poyntes: cursed, if thou heare not Gods worde, commaunding thée to pay thy duty to the king, and blessed, if thou heare it, and keepe it. I woulde haue you to muse of these two thinges. That it shall not minishe thy stocke.

One cause of plagues.

To geue doth not diminish the stocke.

Blessing, what it is.

Blessing and cursing.

Causes of decay.

Shew me one man in al England that is ꝑ poꝛer foꝛ paying the king his duetie, foꝛ being a true dealing man, a good almes man. &c. Many haue come to pouerty by diling, carding riot, whoꝛdome, & such like: but neuer no mã by truth, mercy,

almes, right dealing with the laing. In the Cardinals time men were put to theyr othes, to sweare what they were worthe. It was a sore thing, and a thing I would wish not to be followed. O Lorde, what periurie was in England by that swearing? I thincke thys realme fareth the worse yet for that periurye. For doubtlesse many one willinglie and wittinglie forswareth themselues at that time. It is a deare time (thou wilte say) & men haue much a do to liue, therfore it is a good policie, to set my selfe much lesse then I am: well, that is thy worldlie policie, and wyth it thou runnest into the curse of God, for breaking hys worde and commaundemente: Geue to Cesar, that which is due to Ceasar. I will tell thee a good policie to kepe thy stocke, and to mayntaine thine estate: not a policie of the worlde, but of Gods worde, and it is thys: *Quærite primùm regnum Dei, & iustitiam eius, & hæc omnia adijcientur vobis.* Seeke first the kyngdome of God, and the righteousnes of it, and all these thinges shall be plenteouslie geuen to you. Doest thou not beleue thys to be true? Is Christ an hollowe man, an vntrue man, a dissembler? The Pharisies make him a true man, and wil make him a false harlot. He is a true man, and his wordes and his promise are true. Nay we be false hollow harted, and therefore iustly punished. For if we would credite his words, it should without doubt be geuen vs abundantly vppon heapes, yea more then we could desire.

Great periury in England.

A policie to maintaine thy stocke.

When we pray for things vnto almighty God, what aske we? do we aske forthwith at ỹ first chop our necessaries? Nay Christ taught vs first to pray: Our father which art in heauen hallowed be thy name, thy kingdome come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heauen. &c. First we pray these petitions, for fayth, hope, and charitie, that Gods honour may in all thinges be set out among vs, and then we pray after for bodely thinges. But now we leaue these petitions, and would be in *Panem nostrum*, at the first bathe, we would haue our daily bread at the first chop, and so we haue that, we force little of the other. We will not say in wordes, that we thincke God false, but in deedes we plainly affirme it, for we truste him

The right order of prayer.

not

not, neyther beleue his promise when he biddeth vs, Geue, geue, I will blesse ye, I will make good my worde. Nay, nay, we will scrape and scraule, and catch and pull to vs all that we may get. *Alij diuidunt sua, & diuiores fiunt, alij rapiunt non sua, & semper in egestate sunt.* Some men (sayth Salomon) deuides theyr owne goodes, they pay the king hys duty, euery man hys owne, geue almes, and yet are more richer, they haue enough and enough. Other robbe other men, cratch and scrape all ỹ they may come by, neuer content, neuer enough, heape to heape, & yet they are alway beggers: *Qui benedicit, impinguabitur:* he that blesseth shalbe fat and wealthy. He that blesseth (not with wagging his fingers) but helping the poore people, he shalbe blessed, and euer haue enough, God wil blesse him, God will encrease him. And indeed so ought men to consider their giftes & goods to be geuen: *Vt illorum copia, aliorum succurrat inopiæ:* that their aboundance might succour the necessity, pouerty, and misery of their poore neighboures, & not to waste it, or consume it in ryot and excesse, but in dedes of mercy, in dedes of charity, and pitty vpon the poore. *Qui miseretur pauperis, feneratur Domino:* he that hath mercy vpon the poore, he lendeth vpon vsury vnto the Lorde. This is a good vsurie, to make God thy debter. Many lendeth vpon worldly vsury, which surely is a very wicked thing, and God forbiddeth it. But this vsury God commaundeth, and promiseth to supply the lacke of it in thy coffers. He will be debter, he will be paymaister. Thou shalt not finde thy stocke diminished at the yeares end by keeping Gods cõmaundement, but rather blessed & encreased. Geue therfore vnto the king, that is due vnto the king, *et quæ sunt Dei, Deo.* & geue to God, ỹ which is Gods. What is Gods? That I geue at Gods bidding. The tithes, oblations, first borne beastes, and sacrifice cattell, which all God appointed vnto the Iewes to the maintenaunce of theyr church ministers of the clergy, poore widowes, fatherles children, maintenance of poore scholers. This was the cause that God assigned the Iewes to pay theyr tythes, and vntill the comming of Christ, they were due by Gods lawe, and might by the law geuen to Moyses be claimed. But now that lawe

This is worthy to be noted

Learne how to spẽd thy goods.

Good vsury.

Thinges due to God.

is at an ende, neither can they be claimed any more by that law. Notwithstanding now in the time of the new Testament, the Princes be bound to prouide a sufficient liuing for the ministers, as S. Paule sayth: *Qui euangelium prædicant, de euangelio viuant*. They that preach the gospell, thys is the ministery of saluation, preaching of the gospell, and vnto such ministers, ye be bound to geue a sufficient liuing: *Communicate Catechizanti in omnibus bonis*: geue part to him that teacheth you in all good thinges, geue him part of all your goodes, see he haue sufficient liuing. But who shall appoynt him a sufficient liuing? himselfe? Nay: who then? you? Nay nother: the king must appoynt him sufficient to liue vpon: For I thincke verely there are a great many, which, if the ministers should haue no liuing, but at their appointment, he should not haue clouting lether to peece his shoes with, no not clouting lether to his shoes. The king therefore must appoynt the ministers theyr liuinges by his lawe, and that liuing that the king appoynteth they must clayme, and you must pay it to them truly: for it is theyr duety, and it is theefte to withdraw or holde it from them: for God commaundeth you to obey your kings lawes, and by the same lawes the king geueth the minister his tithes, and other dueties, therefore vpon perill of thy soule thou art bound to obey thy king, and to pay to thy Curate that tith, that thou art commaunded. But some will say: our Curate is naught, an asshead, a dodipoll, a lackelatine, and can do nothing: Shall I pay him my tithes, that doth vs no good, nor none will do? Yea I say, thou must pay him his duetie, and if he be such a one, complayne to the Bysshop. We haue complayned to the ordinary, & he is as negligent as he. Complayne to the counsel: sir, so we haue done, but no remedy can be had. Well I can tell where thou shalt complayne. Complain to God, he wil surely heare thee, he wil remedy it. Christ sawe the people lying, *Tanquam oues nõ habentes pastorem*: as sheepe hauing no shepheard. They had Bishops, Scribes, and pharisies, Curates in name a great many, yet were they, *tanquam oues non habentes pastorem*: as sheepe hauing no shepheard: What is that to say? they had no true teachers, they had

The minister must be prouided for.

The king must appoint the ministers liuing.

Haue no respect to the person.

had no preachers of the law of God to them. What remedie taught Christ for it, withdraw their liuings? Nay: Make tumultes? nay, but *rogare Dominum messis*: pray the Lord of the haruell. Pray, pray. Prayer is the remedy that neuer faileth, when all other fayleth, this neuer fayleth. Therfore pray vnto God, and he will eyther turne his hart, and make him better, or remoue him from thee, and send a better in his place, or els take him away altogether. So will the Lord do with any other oppressour of the poore, either he will turne their harts, & make them better, or els remoue them, & take them quite away. Therefore let men be patient and suffer, and pray vnto God for deliueraunce from their troubles, and not thincke to remedy it themselues, but pray to God, and he will remedy it. Pray I say, and take patience, and you shall see the Lorde will in due time remedy it. There be many that turne thys texte cleane contrary. For they yelde to Cesar that which is Gods, and to God, that which is Cesars. They had money ynough to build monasteries, chauntries, masses, yearedayes, trentals, to gilde images. &c. And all this they did (say they) to honour God with.

A meane to reforme negligent Curates.

Many turns this text.

They would worship God with copes, torches, tapers, cãdels, & an hundred things mo that god neuer required at their hands. God requireth the hartes to feare him, & loue him, and studiously to walke before him: but this inwarde seruice we wil not geue him. Nay, we geue Cesar our hart, and God our outward seruice, as all such do as haue receiued the Interim. God should posses our whole hartes, and we should most studiously walke euery man in his vocation, according to the worde of God, according to hys commaundementes, obeying our king, and succouring the poore and needy, as he hath commaunded vs. And this is true Gods seruice, and the thyng that belongeth to God. If thys be true, what is becomme of our forefathers? I aunswere, it is a vayne and vnprofitable question, other it needes not, or it boots not. Whatsoeuer they did, let vs do well, let vs keepe Gods bidding, Gods commaundementes, and then are we safe. When one dyeth, we must haue belles ringyng, singyng, and much a do. But to what

The true gods seruice.

purpose

purpoſe. Thoſe that dye in the fauour of God are well, thoſe that dye out of the fauour of God, this can do them no good, *Vbi ceciderit lignum, ibi erit*: Where the tree falleth, there it ſhall remaine. Study therfore to liue in the fauour and grace of God, in repentaunce, in amendment of life, and then dyeſt thou well. Further to the queſtion of our forefathers. God knoweth his elect, and diligently watcheth and kepeth them, ſo that all thinges ſerue to their ſaluation. The nature of fire is to burne al that is layd in it, yet God kept the iij. yong men in Babilon, that they burnt not. And Moiſes ſawe a buſh on fire, but it burnt not. So falſe doctrine, as fire burneth, it corrupteth. But God kept his electe, that they were not corrupt wyth it, but alwayes put theyr truſt in one euerliuing God, through the death of Jeſus Chriſt our Lorde. In Elias time idolatry and ſuperſtition raigned, ſo that Elias ſayd: *Domine altaria tua ſubuerterunt*: Lord they haue deſtroyed thine altars, and ſlayne thy prophetes (and preachers) and I am left alone. Vnt the Lord aunſwered him: I haue reſerued to my ſelfe, vij. M. men, that haue not bowed their knee to Baal: ſo God (I truſt) reſerued our forefathers in ſo perilous times, more graciouſly then we can thinke. Let vs thancke God the for the gracious light of his word ſent vnto vs, & pray for our gracious King & his counſell, that ſet it forth vnto vs. And as for our forefathers, ſeeing we haue no charge geue vs of God, leaue them, & commend them vnto Gods mercy, who diſpoſed better for them then we can wiſhe. But ſome will ſay now, What neede we preachers then, God can ſaue his elect without preachers. A godly reaſon. God can ſaue my lyfe wythout meat and drincke, need I none therfore? God can ſaue me from burning, if I were in ỹ fire, ſhall I run into it therfore? No, no, I muſt kepe the way ỹ God hath ordayned, & vſe the ordinary meanes ỹ God hath aſſigned, and not to ſeeke newe wayes. This office of preaching is ỹ onely ordinary way, that God hath appointed to ſaue vs all by. Let vs maintaine this, for I know none other, neither thinke I God will appoint or deuiſe any other. Pay therfore to Ceſar, that which is due to Ceſar. And this ſayd Chriſt by an heathen King, a paynime,

Leaue the forefathers to gods iudgement.

Ordinary meanes muſt be vſed.

Ceſar was an heathen.

how

how much more ought we to paye to our Ceasar, our leige Lorde and king, a Christen king, and so godly and vertuous a learned king. And pay to God that is due to God: tithes and all dueties longing to the ministers & preachers of this office of saluation, geue it them without dissimuling, without withdrawing or abridging of their dueties. Take heede of lying, and setting thy selfe at lesse then thou art. Marke the example of Ananias and Saphira his wife. They dyed sodeinly for their lying and dissimulation in the like matter. Well, this was Christes doctrine. This was his answere: Geue to Ceasar that which is Ceasars, and to God that which is Gods. *Et non potuerunt reprehendere verbū eius cora populo:* And they could not finde fault in his word before the people, it was so iuste, so consonant with Scriptures and with reason. Yet afterward they falsified his worde before Pilate, accusing him: *Hunc deprehendimus euertentē gentē, & vetantē tributa dari Cesari:* We found this fellow turning away the peoples hartes, and forbidding ỹ tribute to be genē to Ceasar. These be perilous people to medle withall, malicious & vncharitable, that care not what slaunder they accuse a man of. Deny, they are ready to accuse: affirme, they will yet falsifie his word. Then it is best to say nothing at all: nay not so. Let vs speake Gods truth, and liue according to his commaundement, he shall deliuer vs from the handes of our aduersaries, & make vs safe in his heauenly kingdome. Let vs I say do Gods bidding and commaundement, geue to our king our duties, truely we shall haue neuer the lesse, it shall not minishe our stocke, we shall rather haue the more. For God is true of his promise, let vs maintaine the necessary office of saluation, paye to the ministers the thinges appointed them, maintaine scholers and scholes, helpe the poore widowes and fatherlesse children, study to doe good while we haue time in this present life, so shall the Lord in this life blesse vs, and after this life geue vs eternall life, through Iesu Christ. To whom with the father and the holy Ghost be all laude, and honour. Amen.

Beware of lying.

Perilous people.

To bee truely, diminisheth not our stocke.

Marueil not that I vse at ỹ Sermons end to make prayer, for I do it not of singularitie: but when I am at home, and in the

in the countrey where I go, ſometime when the poore people come and aſke at me, I appoſe them my ſelfe, or cauſe my ſeruaunt to appoſe them of the Lordes prayer, and they aunſwere ſome, I can my Latin *Pater noſter*: ſome, I can the olde *Pater noſter*, but not the new. Therefore all that can it not may learne. I vſe before the Sermon and after to ſay it. Wherefore now I beſeech you let vs ſay it together. Our Father which art in heauen. &c.

¶ A moſt faythfull Sermon preached before K. Edward the vi. and his moſt honorable Counſell, in his Court at Weſtminſter, by the reuerend father M. Hugh Latimer. An. 1550.

VIDETE & *cauete ab auaritia.* Take heede & beware of couetouſnes, take heede & beware of couetouſnes: take heede & beware of couetouſnes: take heede & beware of couetouſnes! And what and if I ſhould ſay nothing els these three or fower houres (for I know it will be ſo long, in caſe I be not commaunded to the contrary) but theſe wordes: Take heede and beware of couetouſneſſe, it would be thought a ſtraunge Sermon before a king, to ſay nothing els. *Cauete ab auaritia:* Beware of couetouſneſſe. And yet as ſtraunge as it is, it would be like the Sermon of Jonas that he preached to the Niniuites, as touching the ſhortnes, and as touching the paucitie or fewenelle of the wordes. For his Sermon was, *Adhuc quadraginta dies, & Nimine ſubuertetur:* There is yet fortie dayes to come, and Nimine ſhall be deſtroyed. Thus he walked from ſtreete to ſtreete, and frō place to place round about the Citie, and ſayd nothing els, but there is yet xl. daies (quoth he) and Nimine ſhall be deſtroyed. There is no great odds nor difference at the leſt wiſe, in the number of wordes,

A ſtraunge Sermon.

Jonas Sermō ſhort and pithy.

no

no nor yet in the sense or meaning betwene these two Sermons: There is yet forty dayes, and Niniue shall be destroyed: and these wordes that I haue taken to speake of this day: Take heede and beware of couetousnesse. For Niniue should be destroyed for sinne, and of their sinnes, couetousnesse was one, and one of the greatest, so that it is all one in effect. And as they be like concerning the shortnes, the paucitie of wordes, the breuitie of wordes, and also the meaning and purpose: So I would they might be like in fruite and profite. For what came of Jonas Sermon? what was the fruite of it? *Ad prædicationem Iona crediderunt Deo*: At the preaching of Ionas they beleued God. Here was a great fruite, a great effect wrought. What is the same, they beleued in God? They beleued Gods Preacher, Gods Officer, Gods Minister Jonas, and were conuerted from their sinne. They beleued that (as the Preacher sayd) if they did not repent and amend their life, the Citie should be destroyed within fortie dayes. This was a great fruite, for Jonas was but one man, and he preached but one Sermon, and it was but a short Sermon, neither as touching the number of wordes: and yet he turned all the whole Citie great & small, riche and poore, king and all. We be many preachers here in England, and we preach many long Sermons, and yet the people will not repent nor conuert. This was the fruite, the effecte and ỳ good that his Sermon did, that all the whole Citie at his preaching conuerted and amended their euill liuing, and did penaunce in sackcloth. And yet here in this Sermon of Jonas is no great curiousnesse, no great clerkelinesse, no great affectation of wordes, nor of painted eloquence, it was none other but *Ad huc quadraginta dies, & Niniue subuertetur*: Yet forty dayes, *& Niniue subuertetur*, and Niniue shal be destroyed: it was no more. This was no great curious Sermon, but this was a nipping Sermon, a pinching Sermon, a biting Sermon, it had a full bite, it was a nipping Sermon, a rough Sermon, and a sharpe biting Sermon. Do you not here maruell that these Niniuites cast not Jonas in prison, that they did not reuile him, and rebuke him? They

The fruite of Jonas Sermon.

Jonas Sermon was not curious.

Jonas Sermon was nipping.

did

did not reuile him nor rebuke him, but God gaue them grace to heare him, and to conuert and amend at this preaching. A straūge matter, so noble a Citie to geue place to one mans Sermon. Now England can not abide this geare, they can not be content to heare Gods Minister and his threatning for their sinne: though the Sermon be neuer so good, though it be neuer so true. It is a naughtie fellowe, a seditious fellow, he maketh troble and rebellion in the realme, he lacketh discretion. But the Niniuites rebuked not Jonas that he lacked discretion, or that he spake out of time, that his Sermon was out of season made: But in England, if Gods Preacher, Gods Minister be any thing quicke, or doe speake sharpely, then he is a folishe fellowe, he is rashe, he lacketh discretion. Now adayes if they can not reproue the doctrine that is preached, then they will reproue the preacher that he lacketh due consideration of the tunes, and that he is of learning sufficient, but he wanteth discretion. What a time is this picked out to preach such thinges, he should haue a respect and a regard to the time, and to the state of thinges, and of the common weale. It reioyceth me sometimes when my frend commeth and telleth me that they finde fault with my discretion, for by likelyhode (thinke I) the doctrine is true, for if they could finde fault with the doctrine, they would not charge me with the lacke of discretion, but they would charge me with my doctrine, and not with the lacke of discretion, or with the inconueniencie of the time. I will now aske you a question: I pray you when should Jonas haue preached against the couetousnesse of Niniue, if the couetous men should haue appointed him his time? I know that preachers ought to haue a discretion in their preaching, and that they ought to haue a consideration and respecte to the place and to the time that he preacheth in, as I my selfe will say here that I would not say in the countrey for no good. But what then? sinne must be rebuked, sinne must be plainly spoken against. And when should Jonas haue preached against Niniue, if he should haue forborne for the respectes of the times, or the place, or the state of thinges there? For what was Niniue? a noble, a riche, and

Niniue cōuerted at Jonas preaching: England slāderech their good preachers.

A signe of true doctrine.

Preachers must consider time and place.

and a wealthy Citie. What is London to Niniue? like a village, as Islington or such an other in comparison of London. Such a Citie was Niniue, it was three dayes iourney to goe through euery streete of it, and to goe but frō streete to streete. There was noble men, riche men, wealthy men, there was vicious men, and couetous men, and men that gaue themselues to all voluptuous liuing, and to worldlines of getting riches. Was this a time well chosen and discretely taken of Jonas, to come and reprone them of their sinne, to declare vnto them the threatninges of God, and to tell them of their couetousnes, and to say plainly vnto them, that except they repented and amended their euill liuing, they and their Citie should be destroyed of Gods hand within xl. dayes? And yet they heard Jonas and gaue place to his preaching. They heard the threatninges of God and feared his stroke and vengeance, and beleued God, that is, they beleued Gods Preacher and Minister, they beleued that God would be true of his worde, that he spake by the mouth of his Prophet, and thereupon did penaunce, to turne away the wrath of God from them. Well, what shall we say? I will say this and not spare, Christ sayth: Niniue shall arise against the Iewes at the last day, and beare witnesse against them, because that they hearing Gods threatninges for sinne, *Ad prædicationem Ionæ in cinere & sacco egerunt pœnitentiam*, they did penaunce at the preaching of Ionas in ashes and sackcloth, (as the text sayth there) and I say Niniue shall arise against England (thou England) Niniue shall arise against England, because it will not beleue God, nor heare his preachers that cry dayly vnto them, nor amend their liues, and specially their couetousnesse. Couetousnesse is as great a sinne now, as it was then, and it is the same sinne now, it was then. And he will as sure strike for sinne now, as he did then. But ah good God that would geue them a time of repentaunce after his threatning. First to see whether they would amend or not or he would destroy them. For euen from the beginning of the world they fell to sinne. The first age from Adam which was about two thousand yeares they fell euer to sinne, and

London but a village in comparison of Niniue.

Niniue at the preaching of Jonas feared Gods rod.

Niniue shall arise against England.

God geueth time of repentance before he destroyeth.

they had preachers Noe and Enoch and other holy fathers. And in that time a great multiplication was that grew in two thousand yeares. For that Scripture saith: The sonnes of God saw the daughters of men that they were fayre, and they tooke them wiues frō among all that they had chosen. This is a long matter to speake of all. But what meaneth this the sonnes of God saw the daughters of men: who were these sonnes of God:

Sonnes of God & daughters of men, what they were.

The sonnes of God were those that came of the good men, of the good Preachers, of the holy fathers that were Gods men, as they that came of Seth and Enos, that were good mē, and of others. For our grandmother Eue, when Cayne had killed Abell, and then she had another sonne by Adam, who was called Seth. What did she: She gaue thankes to God for him, and acknowledged that God it was, which had geuen him vnto her, for she sayde: *Dedit mihi deus semen pro Abel quem occidit Cain.* God (sayd she) hath geuen me another seede in steede of Abell whom Cayne slew. Here is a long matter to talke on. Some will say: was this a naturall mother, was this naturally done to publishe the sinne of her owne sonne: What neded she to speake of that matter, or to make any rehersall of that matter, to open the sinne of her sonne: what neded she this to do: Yes, she was now a good woman, when she beleued the Serpent, she was not good. But now she hath repented that deede, and had take holde of the promise of God, that there should come of her a seede, that should tread downe, and destroy the head of the Serpent. She had taken holde of this promise and was now a good woman and a godly womā, she opened the fault of her sonne and hid it not. Here coulde I say some what to thē (if I would) that spake so much against me for my preaching here the last yeare. But to returne to Eue, and declare that the sonnes of God are to be vnderstanded those that came of good men, as of Seth and Enos, and the same good part of generation. And the daughters of men are to be vnderstanded of them that came of Caine and of his seede, and therefore our grandmother Eue badde beware of mariyng with Caines seede, for feare of falling from God to

Eue was a good woman.

Who be the sonnes of God.

to wickednes thereby. And here I would say a thing to your maiesty, I shall speake it of good will to your highnes, I would I were able to do your grace good seruice in any thing, ye should be sure to haue it. But I will say thys: For Gods loue beware where you marry, chuse your wyfe in a faythfull flocke. Beware of this worldly policy, marry in God, marry not for the great respect of aliaunce, for thereof commeth all these euils of breaking of wedlocke, which is among Princes and noble men. And here I would be a Suter vnto your Maiestie, for I come now rather to be a Suter and a petitioner, then a Preacher, for I come now to take my leaue, and to take my *vltimum vale*, at least wise in this place, for I haue not long to liue, so that I thinke I shall neuer come here into this place againe, and therefore I will aske a petition of your highnes.

M. Latimers Vltimum vale.

For the loue of God, take an order for mariages here in England. For here is mariage for pleasure and voluptuousnes and for goods, and so that they may toyne land to land, and possessions to possessions, they care for no more here in England. And that is the cause of so much adultry, and so much breach of wedlocke in the noble men, and gentle men, and so much deworsing. And it is not now in the noble men onely, but it is come now to the inferior sort. Euery man if he haue but a small cause, wyll cast of his olde wyfe, and take a new, and will mary againe at his pleasure, and there be many that haue so done. I woulde therefore wilhe that there were a law prouided in this behalf for adulterers, and that adultery should be punished with death, and that might be a remedy for all this matter. Where would not the be so much adultry, whordome and lechery in England as there is. For the loue of God take heede to it, and see a remedy prouided for it. I would wilhe that adultry should be punished with death. And that the woman being an offender, if her husband would be a suter for her, she should be pardoned for the first time, but not for the second tyme. And the man beyng an offender should be pardoned, if his wife be a suter for him for the first tyme, but not for the second tyme, not if he offended twise.

Abuse in mariage.

A law that adultery might be punished by death.

If this law were made, there would not be ſo much adultrye nor lechery vſed in the realme as there is. Well I truſt once yet as olde as I am, to ſee the day that lechery ſhall be puniſhed. It was neuer more neede, for there was neuer more lechery vſed in England then is at this day, and maintained. It is made but a laughing matter, and a trifle, and it is a ſad matter, and an earneſt matter. For lechery is a great ſinne: Sodome and Gomorre was deſtroyed for it. And it was one of the ſinnes raigning in Niniue, for which it ſhould haue bene deſtroyed. But thinke you that lechery was alone? No, no, couetouſneſſe was ioyned with it. Couetouſneſſe followeth lechery, and commonly they go together. For why? they that be geuen to voluptuſneſſe, and to the vice of lechery, muſt haue where with to maintaine it, and that muſt be gotten by couetouſneſſe. For at the firſt when men fell to ſinne, and chiefly to lechery, wherefore the world ſhould be deſtroyed (the booke ſayth) there were Giantes in the earth in thoſe dayes. And after that the ſonnes of God had come to ỹ daughters of men, and there had engendred with them, the ſame became mighty men of the worlde, and men of renoune. &c. This is couetouſneſſe, for the booke ſayth: *Terra erat repleta iniquitate*, the earth was repleate with iniquitie, for they oppreſſed the poore. They made them ſlaues, peſantes, villains, and bondmen vnto them. Theſe were Giantes, ſo called of the propertie of Giantes, for they oppreſſe the weake, and take from them what they liſt by force, violence, and oppreſſion. They were Giantes of the propertie of Giantes, not that they were greater men of ſtature and ſtrength of body then other men were. For certaine writers ſpeaking of this matter, ſay, that they were Giantes for their crueltie and couetous oppreſſion, and not in ſtature or proceritie of body. For there is no reaſon why Sethes children could beget on Cains daughters greater men then others were in ſtature of body. But they were Giantes in the propertie of Giantes, for oppreſſing of others by force and violence. And this was couetouſneſſe wherewith God was ſo diſpleaſed, that he repented that he had made men, and reſolued vtterly to deſtroy the world

Lechery a great ſinne.

One ſinne waiteth vpon an other.

What Giantes are.

Couetouſneſſe cauſed God to repent. This ſpeech is after the maner of men.

woꝛlde, and ſo called to Noe, and tolde him of it. And I will not diſpute the matter with them (ſaith God) from day to day, and neuer the neare, but if they will not amende within an hundꝛeth and twenty yeares, I ſhall bꝛing in an vniuerſall floudde ouer their eares and deſtroy them all. This was pꝛeached by Noe to them, and ſo that God of his gꝛodnes, patience, and long ſufferaunce, gaue them a time to repent and amend after his thꝛeatninges, becauſe they ſhoulde ſée their euill doinges, and returne to God. So they had an hundꝛeth and xx. yeares to repent. This Noe was laughed to ſcoꝛne, they like dodipoles laughed this godly father to ſcoꝛne. Well, ye thinke little of the hiſtoꝛy, if ye will know the meaning of it, it is a great ſhew what anger God hath to ſinne. But how long time haſt thou England, thou England? I can not tell, foꝛ God hath not reuealed it vnto me, if he had, ſo God helpe me I woulde tell you of it, I woulde not be afrayde, noꝛ ſpare to tell it you, foꝛ the gꝛod will I beare you, but I can not tell how long time ye haue, foꝛ God hath not opened it vnto me: But I can tell you that this lenitie, this long forbearing and holding of his hand, pꝛouoketh vs to repent and amende. And I can tell that whoſoeuer contemneth this riches and treaſure of Gods gꝛodnes, of his mercy, his patience and long ſuffering, ſhall haue the moꝛe greuous condempnation. This I can tell well inough, Paule telleth me this, and I can tell that ye haue time to repent as long as you liue here in this woꝛlde, but after this life I can make no warrant of any further time to repent. Therefoꝛe repent and mende while ye be here, foꝛ when ye are gone hence, ye are paſt that. But how long that ſhall be whether to moꝛrow oꝛ the nexte day, oꝛ xx. yeares, oꝛ how long, I can not tel. But in the meane time ye haue many Jonaſſes to tel you of your faults, and to declare vnto you Gods thꝛeatnings, except ye repent and amend, therfoꝛe to returne to my matter, I ſay as I ſayd at the beginning: *Videte et cauete ab auaritia, videte*, ſée it. Firſt ſée it, and then amend it. Foꝛ I pꝛomiſe you great complaintes there is of it, and much crying out, and much pꝛeaching, but none amendment that I ſée. But *cauete*

Noe was laughed to ſcoꝛne.

Gods lenitie ſhould pꝛouoke vs to repentaunce.

Repentaunce muſt be in this life.

England hath many that pꝛeach Jonas doctrine.

ab auaritia, beware of couetouſnes. And why of couetouſnes? *Quia radix eſt omnium malorum auaritia, et cupiditas*. For couetouſnes is the roote of all euill, and of all miſchiefe. This ſaying of Paule toke me away from the Goſpell that is read in the Church this day, it toke me from the Epiſtle, that I woulde preach vpon neither of them both at this time, I can not tell what ayled me. But to tell you my imperfection: when I was appointed to preach here, I was new come out of a ſickneſs, wherof I loked to haue dyed, and weake I was. Yet neuertheles when I was appointed vnto it, I toke it vpon me, howbeit I repented afterward that I had done. I was diſpleaſed with my ſelfe, I was teaſty as Jonas was, when he ſhould go preach to the Niniuites. Wel, I loked on the Goſpel that is read this day, tut it liked me not, I loked on the Epiſtle: tuſhe I coulde not away with that neither: And yet I remember I had preached vpon this Epiſtle once afore King Henry the viij. but now I could not frame wyth it, nor it liked me not in no ſauce. Well, this ſaying of Paul came in my mind, and at laſt I conſidered and wayed the matter deepely, and then thought I thus with my ſelfe: Is couetouſnes the rote of all miſchiefe, and of all euill? then haue at the rote, & downe with all couetouſnes. So this place of Paule brought me to this text of Luke: See and beware of couetouſnes. Therfore you preachers out with your ſwords and ſtrike at the rote, ſpeake againſt couetouſnes, and cry out vpon it. Stand not ticking and toying at the braunches, nor at the boughes (for then there will new boughes & braunches ſpring agayne of them) but ſtrike at the rote, and feare not theſe Giauntes of England, theſe great men and men of power, theſe men that are oppreſſours of the pore. Feare thē not, but ſtrike at the rote of all euill, which is miſcheuous couetouſnes. For couetouſnes is the cauſe of rebellion. I haue forgottē my logike, but yet I can iumble at a Sillogiſme, and make an argument of it to proue it by. Couetouſnes is ỳ rote of all euill: Rebellion is an euill, *Ergo*, couetouſnes is the rote of rebelliō. And ſo it was in deede. Couetouſnes was the cauſe of rebellion this laſt Sommer, and both parties had couetouſnes,

Couetouſnes is the roote of all miſchiefe.

Preachers muſt ſtrike at the roote of all euill.

The cauſe of rebellion was couetouſnes.

nes, as well the Gentlemen as the Commons. Both parties had couetousnes, for both parties had an inordinate desire to haue that they had not, and that is couetousnes, an inordinate desire to haue that one hath not.

The Commons would haue had from the Gentlemen such thinges as they desired. The Gentlemen would none of it, and so was there couetousnes on both sides. The Commens thought they had a right to the thinges that they inordinately sought to haue. But what then? they must not come to it that way. Now on the other side the Gentlemen had a desire to kepe that they had, and so they rebelled to against the kings commaundement, and against such good order, as he and hys counsell would haue set in the realme. And thus both parties had couetousnes, and both parties did rebell. I heard say that there was godly ordinaūces deuised for the redresse of it. But the Giauntes woulde none of it in no sauce. I remember myne owne selfe a certaine Giaunt, a great man, who sate in commission about such matters. And when the counsemen should bring in what had bene inclosed, he frowned and chafed and so neare loked and threatned the poore men, that they durst not aske their right. The frowning of a Giaunt.

I read of late in an Acte of Parliment: and this Act made mention of an act that was made in king Henries dayes (the iij. I trow it was, yea and such an other busines there was in king Edwardes time the second also.) In this parliment that I speake of, the Gentlemen and the cōmons were at variaunce, as they were now of late. And there the Gentlemen that were Landlordes, would nedes haue away much landes from their tenauntes, and woulde nedes haue an Acte of parliment that it might be lawfull for them to enclose and make seuerall from their tenauntes, and from the Commons such portions of their lands as they thought good, much a dow there was about this Acte. At last it was concluded and graunted that they might so do: Prouided alway that they should leaue sufficient to the tenaunt. Well, it was well that they were bounde to leaue sufficient for them. But who shoulde be the iudge to limite what was sufficient for them. Or who shall Commōs prouided for by Acte of Parliment.

now iudge what is sufficient? Well I for my part can not tell what is sufficient. But me thought it was well that the tennaunts and powre commons should haue sufficient. For if they had sufficient (thought I) they had cause to be quiet. And then fell I to make this argument within my selfe: If at that time it were put in their will and power, that they might enclose, leauing to the tennaunt that were sufficient for him, if they had it then in their power (thought I) that they might this doe, they would leaue no more then sufficient. If they left to the tenauntes and powre commons no more in those dayes but sufficient: then if they had any more taken from them since that time, then had they now not sufficient. They in Christ are equall with you.

All are equall in Christ.

Peeres of the realme must needes be. The powrest plowman is in Christ equall with the greatest Prince that is. Let them therefore haue sufficient to maintayne them, and to finde thē their necessaries. A plow land must haue sheepe, yea they most haue sheepe to dunge their grounde for bearing of corne (for if they haue no sheepe to helpe to fat the grounde they shal haue but bare corne and thinne.) They must haue swine for their fode to make their veneries or bacon of, their bacon is their venison) for they shall now haue *hangum tuum*, if they get any other veneson) so that bacon is their necessary meate to fede on, which they may not lacke. They must haue other catteles, as horses to draw their plough and for cariage of things to the markets, and kine for their milke and chese, which they must liue vpon and pay their rentes. These cattell must haue pasture, which pasture if they lacke, the rest must needes faile thē. And pasture they can not haue, if the land be taken in and inclosed from them. So (as I sayd) there was in both partes rebellion. Therefore for Gods loue restore their sufficient vnto them, and search no more what is the cause of rebellion. But see & beware of couetousnes, for couetousnes is the cause of rebellion. Well now, if couetousnes be the cause of rebellion, thē preaching against couetousnes is not the cause of rebelliō. Some say that the preaching now a dayes is the cause of all sedition & rebellion, for since this new

The plow mā, what is requisite for him.

A good requeste.

preaching

preaching hath come in, there hath bene much sedition, and therefore it must nedes be that the preaching is the cause of rebellion here in England, forsoth our preaching is the cause of rebellion much like as Christ was cause of the destruction of Jerusalē. For (saith Christ) *Si non venissem & locutus fuissem eis, peccatum non haberent. &c.* If I had not come (sayth Christ) and spoken to them, they should haue no sinne. So we preachers haue come and spokē to you: we haue drawen our swordes of Gods word, and striken at the rotes of all euill to haue them cut downe, and if ye will not amend, what can we do more? And preaching is cause of sedition here in England, much like as Elias was the cause of trouble in Israell, for he was a preacher there, and tolde the people of all degrees their faultes, and so they winched and kicked at him, and accused him to Achab the king, that he was a seditious fellow, and a troublous preacher, and made much vprore in the Realme. So the king sent for him, and he was brought to Achab the king, who sayd vnto him: Art thou he that troubleth all Israell? and Elias answered and sayd: nay, thou and thy fathers house are they that trouble all Israell. Elias had preached Gods worde, he had plainly tolde the people of their euill doinges, he had shewed them Gods threatenings: (In Gods behalfe I speake, there is neither king nor Emperour, be they neuer in so great estate, but they are subiect to Gods worde) and therefore he was not affrayde to say to Achab: It is thou, and thy fathers house, that causeth all the trouble in Israell. Was not this presumptuously spoken to a king? Was not this a seditious fellowe? Was not this fellowes preaching a cause of al the trouble in Israel? was he not worthy to be cast in Bocardo or little ease. No, but he had vsed Gods sworde, which is his worde, and done nothing els that was euill, but they coulde not abide it, he neuer disobeyed Achabs sword, which was the regall power. But Achab disobeyed his sword, which was the worde of God. And therfore by the punishmēt of God, much trouble arose in the realme for the sinnes of Achab & the people. But Gods preacher, Gods prophet was not the cause of the trouble. Thē it is not we preachers that trou-

Preaching is no cause of rebellion.

Elias a true preacher.

Emperors and kings are subiect to Gods worde.

Achab and his fathers house, troubled all Israell.

Achab disobeyed the worde of God.

ble

Preaching against couetousnes.

England. But here is now an argument to proue the matter against the preachers. Here was preaching against couetousnes all the last yeare in Lent, & the next sommer folowed rebellion: *Ergo* preaching against couetousnes, was the cause of the rebellion. A godly argument. Here now I remember an argument of maister Moyes, which he bringeth in a booke that he made against Bilney, and here by the way I will tell you a mery toy. Maister Moyse was once sent in commission into Kent, to helpe to trie out (if it might be) what was ỹ cause of Godwin sandes, and the shelfe that stopped vp Sandwich hauen. Thether commeth maister Moyse, and calleth the countrye afore him, such as were thought to be men of experience, and men that could of likelihode best certify him of that matter, concernig the stopping of Sandwich hauen. Amõg others came in before him an olde man with a white head, and one that was thought to be litle lesse then an hundreth yeares olde. When maister Moyse saw this aged man, he thought it expedient to heare him say his minde in this matter (for being so olde a man it was likely that he knew most of any mã in that presence and company.) So maister Moyse called this olde aged man vnto him, and sayd: Father (said he) tell me if ye can what is the cause of this great arising of the sandes and shelues here about this hauen, the which stop it vp that no shippes can ariue here? Ye are the eldest man that I can espie in all this company, so that if any man can tell any cause of it, ye of likelihode can say most in it, or at least wise more then any other man here assembled. Yea forsoth good maister (quod this olde man) for I am well nigh an hundreth yeares olde, and no man here in this company any thing neare vnto mine age. Well then (quod maister Moyse) how say you in this matter? what thinke ye to be the cause of these shelues & flattes that stoppe vp Sandwiche hauen? Forsoth syr (quoth he) I am an olde man, I thinke that Tenterton steeple is the cause of Godwin sandes. For I am an olde man syr (quod he) and I may remember the building of Tenterton steeple, and I may remember when there was no steeple at all there. And before that Tenterton steeple was in building, there

was

was no maner of speaking of any flats, or sands that stopped the hauen, and therefore I thinke that Tenterton steeple is the cause of the destroying and decaying of Sandwich hauen. And euen so to my purpose is preaching of Gods worde the cause of rebellio, as Tenterton steeple was cause that Sandwich hauen is decayed.

Tenterton steeple decayed Sandwich hauen.

And is not this a gaye matter, that such should be taken for great wise men, that will thus reason against the Preacher of Gods worde? But here I would take an occasion by the way of a digression to speake somewhat to my Systers the women to doe them some good to, because I woulde do all folkesgood if I coulde, before I take my *Vltimum vale* (at lest wise here of this place) for I thinke I shal no more come here. For I thinke I haue not long to liue. So that I iudge I take my leaue now of the court for euer, and shall no more come in this place. Achab was a king, but Iesabell Iesabell, she was the perilous woman. She woulde rule her husband the King, she would beare a stroke in all thinges, & she would order matters as pleased her, and so will many women do, they will rule their husbandes, and do all thinges after their owne mindes. They do therein against the order by God appointed thē. They breake their iniunction that God gaue vnto them. Yea, it is now come to the lower sort, to meane mēs wiues, they will rule and apparell themselues gorgeously, & some of them farre aboue their degrees, whether their husbandes will nor no. But they brake their iniunction, and doe therein contrary to Gods ordinaunce. God saith: *Subdita eris subpotestate viri*. Thou shalt be subiect vnder the power of thy husband. Thou shalt be subiect. Women are subiectes, ye be subiectes to your husbandes.

Iesabell a perilous woman.

Gods iniunction maketh women subiect to their husbandes.

At the first the man and the woman were equal. But after that she had geuen credit to the Serpēt, thē she had an iniunction set vppon her: *Subdita eris sub potestate viri*, thou shalt be subiecte vnder the power of thy husband. And as for one part of her iniunction she taketh, and she taketh one part of her penaunce, because she cānot auoide it: & that is: *in dolore paries*: Thou shalt bring forth children with paine and traueile.

Women, how they became subiect.

This

This part of their iniunction they take, and yet is the ſame ſo greuous that Chriſoſtome ſaith: if it were not for the ordinaunce of God which cannot be made fruſtrate by man, they would neuer come to it againe for no worldly good. But God hath prouided herein. And (as Chriſt ſaith in the Goſpell:) *Mulier cum parit triſtitiam habet. &c.* The woman when ſhe beareth childe hath ſorow, but afterward ſhe remembreth not the payne, becauſe there is a ſoule brought forth into the worlde.

Gods ordinaunce touching women.

But as it is a part of your penaunce ye wemen to trauell in bearing your children: ſo is it a part of your pennaunce to be ſubiectes vnto your huſbandes, ye are vnderlinges, vnderlinges, and muſt be obedient. But this is now made a trifle & a ſmall matter. And yet it is a ſad matter, a godly matter, a goſtly matter, a matter of damnation & ſaluation. And Paul ſaith that a womã ought to haue a power on her head. What is this to haue a power on her head? It is a maner of ſpeaking of the ſcripture, and to haue her power on her head, is to haue a ſigne and token of power, which is by couering of her head, declaring that ſhe hath a ſuperiour aboue her, by whom ſhe ought to be ruled & ordered. For ſhe is not immediately vnder God, but mediately. For by their iniunction the huſband is their head vnder God, and they ſubiects to their huſbãds. But this power that ſome of thẽ haue, is diſguiſed geare & ſtrainge faſhions. They muſt weare Frenchhoodes, and I can not tell you I, what to call it. And when they make them ready and come to the couering of their heade, they will call and ſay, geue me my French hode, and geue me my bonet, or my cap, and ſo forth. I woulde wiſhe that the women would call the couering of their heades by the termes of the Scripture. As when ſhe would haue her cappe, I would ſhe would ſay: geue me my power, I woulde they would learne to ſpeake, as the holy Ghoſt ſpeaketh, and call it by ſuch a name as Saint Paule doth. I woulde they woulde (as they haue much pricking) when they put on their cap, I would they would haue this meditation, I am now putting on my power vpon my head. If they had this thought in their mindes, they woulde

Womens penaunce.

Why womens heades be couered.

Huſband, head of his wife.

Women ought to ſpeake and do, as the ſcripture teacheth them.

not

not make so much pricking vp of them selues as they do now adayes. But now here is a vengeance deuill: we must haue our power from Turkey of Veluet, and gay it must be. Far fette, deare bought, and when it commeth it is a false signe. I had rather haue a true Englishe signe then a false signe frō Turky. It is a false signe when it couereth not their heades as it should do. For if they would keepe it vnder the power as they ought to do, there should not any such Tussockes nor Tuftes be seene, as there be, nor such laying out of the heere nor brayding to haue it open. I would maruell of it how it should come to be so abused, and so farre out of order, sauing that I know by experience, that many will not be ruled by their husbandes, as they ought to be. I haue bene desired to exhort some, and with some I could doe litle in that matter. But there be now many Adams that will not displease their wiues, but will in this behalfe let them haue all their owne mindes, and do as them listeth. And some others againe there be now adayes that will defend it, and say it may be suffered wel inough, because it is not expressed in scripture, nor spoken of by name. Though we haue not expresse mention in scripture against such laying out of the heere in Tussockes and Tuftes: yet we haue in scripture expresse mention *De tortis crinibus*, of writhen heere, that is for ỹ nonce forced to Curle. But of these Tussockes that are layde out now adayes, there is no mention made in scriptures, because they were not vsed in Scripture time. They were not yet come to be so farre out of order, as to lay out such Tussockes and Tuftes. But I will tell thee, if thou wilt needes lay it out, or if thou wilt needes shewe thy heere and haue it seene, goe and pole thy head, or round it, as men doe: for to what purpose is it to pull it out so, and to laye it out? Some do it (say they) of a simplicitie. Some do it of a pride. And some of other causes. But they do it because they will be quarter maister with their husbādes: Quarter maisters? May, halfe maisters: yea some of them will be whole maisters, and rule the roast as they liste them selues. But these defenders of it will not haue it euill, because it is not spoken of in Scripture. But there be other thinges

Tussockes and Tuftes.

Many Adams in the world.

The cause why Tussockes be not in Scripture.

Some women quarter, halfe, and whole maisters.

as

as euill as this, which are not ſpoken of in ſcripture expreſſely, but they are employed in Scripture, as well as though they were there expreſſely ſpoken of. For the Prophet Eſay ſayth. *Va qui conſurgitis mane ad comeſſendum, ad ebrietatem ſectandam, et potãdo vſque ad veſperam, vt vino æſtuetis.* Wo vnto you that ariſe early in the morning, and go to drincking vntill night, that ye may ſwymme in wine.

A good leſſon againſt banqueting and dronkennes.

This is the ſcripture againſt banquetting and dronkennes. But now they banquet all night, and lie a bed in the day time till none, and the ſcripture ſpeaketh nothing of that. But when then? the Deuill hath his purpoſe this way, as well as the other, he hath his purpoſe as well by reuelling and keeping ill rule all night, as by riſing early in the morning and banqueting all day. So the Deuill hath his purpoſe both wayes. Ye noble mẽ, ye great men, I wot not what rule ye keepe: For Gods ſake heare the complaintes and ſutes of the poore. Many cumplaine againſt you that ye lie a bed till viij. or ix. or x. of the clocke, I cannot tell what reuell ye haue ouer night, whether in banqueting, or dicing, or carding, or how it is. But in the morning when poore ſuters come to your houſes ye cannot be ſpokẽ withall. They are kept ſometimes without your gates, or if they be let into the Hale or ſome vtter chamber, out cõmeth one or other. Syr, ye cãnot ſpeake with my Lord yet, my Lord is a ſleepe, or he hath had buſines of ỳ kings all night. &c. And thus poore ſuters are driuen of from day to day that they cãnot ſpeake with you in iij. or iiij. dayes, yea a whole moneth, what ſhall I ſay more? yea a whole yeare ſometimes ere they can come to your ſpeche, to be heard of you. For Gods loue loke better to it, ſpeake with poore men when they come to your houſes, and diſpatch poore ſuters, as in dede ſome noble men do, and would Chriſt that all noble men would ſo do. But ſome do.

The Deuill hath his purpoſe.

My Lord is a ſleepe.

I went one day my ſelfe betime in the morning to a great mans houſe, to ſpeake with him, in buſines that I had of mine owne. And me thought I was vp betimes, but when I came thether, the great man was gone forth, about ſuch affayres as behoued him, or I came. Well, yet (thought I)

this

this is well, I like this well. This man doth somewhat re- The praise of a noble man.
garde and consider his office and duty. I came to late for mine owne matter, and lost my iourney, and my early rising to, and yet I was glad that I had bene so begyled. For Gods loue folow this example ye great men, and arise in the mornings, and be redy for men to speake with them, and to dispatch suters that resort vnto you. But all these I bring to dispraise them that defend euill thinges, because they be not expressly spoken against in the scripture. But what forceth that? when the Deuill hath his purpose and is serued as well one way as an other way: though it be not expressely spoken against in scripture, yet I recken plainly inough employed in the scripture. But now to come to my matter agayne. *Videte, et cauete ab auaritia.* See and beware of couetousnes, and I shall de- Fower things to be cõsidered.
sire you to consider fower thinges. *Quis dicat, quid dicat, cui dicat, et quare dicat,* who speaketh it, what he speaketh, to whom he speaketh, & wherfore he speaketh it. As here Christ speaketh to a rich man against auarice. And why against auarice? what shal be the end of all couetous persons? eternall damnation. For the couetous persons (saith Paule) shall not possesse, ne enter into the kingdome of God. Here therefore I shall desire you to pray. &c.

VIdete et cauete ab auaritia. Se, and beware of couetousnes.

First who spake these words? Forsoth Christ spake them, if I had spoken them of my selfe, it had bene litle worth. But Christ spake them, and vpon a good occasion: The story is *Duo litigabant inter se.* There were two at strife betwene theselues. Luke. xii. and by this it appeareth that Christ spake them well. Christ spake these wordes at that time, and now he speaketh them by his preacher, whom ye ought to beleue, and so it is all one. But vppon what occasion did he speake it: there were two brethren at strife together for landes, welthy men (as it appeareth) and the riche felow woulde not tary till Christ had ended his sermon: but interrupted it, and would nedes haue his matter dispatched by and by. He was at Christes Sermon, but yet he would not differ his worldly sause till Christ had made an ende of his Godly exhortation.

Thys

This was a thorny brother, he was a Goſpeller, he was a carnall Goſpeller (as many be now adayes for a peece of an Abbey, or for a portion of Chauntry landes) to gette ſomewhat by it, and to ſerue his commodie. He was a Goſpeller, one of the new brethren ſomewhat worſſe then a rancke Papiſt. Howbeit a rancke Papiſt now adayes ſhall ſoner haue promotion, then a true Goſpeller ſhall haue: the more pitie. But this was a thorny Goſpeller, he heard Chriſtes preaching, and followed him for company, and heard his wordes. But he was neuer the better for it: but the care of the world ſo choked the worde of God in him, that he could not heare the Sermon to the ende, but interrupted the Sermon for his worldly matter ere it were all done. And what was Chriſt then doing? forſoth he was ſowing of good ſeede, but it fell vpon ſtony ground, ſo that it could not take any rote in this fellowe to bring forth good fruite in him. And let me tell you of the ſeede that Chriſt was then ſowing. Beare with me a while, and ſeing that I come now to take mine *vltimum vale* of this place, heare me patiently, and geue me leaue a little while, and let me take my leaue honeſtly.

A thorny brother worſſe then a Papiſt.

Chriſt ſoweth good ſeede.

At the time when this fellowe interrupted Chriſtes Sermon, he was preaching a long Sermon to his diſciples, and to the people being gathered together in a wonderfull great multitude, as appeareth in the xij. Chapter of S. Lukes Goſpell, and there he firſt of all taught his diſciples a good leſſon, ſaying: *Cauete vobis a fermento Phariſeorum*: Beware in any wiſe (ſayth he) of the leuen of the Phariſeis. What is this leuen of the Phariſeis? Leauen is ſometimes taken for corrupt liuing, which infecteth others by the euill example therof, and againſt ſuch corrupt liuing Gods Preachers muſt cry out earneſtly, and neuer ceaſſe till it be roted vp. In the Citie of Corinth one had maried his ſtepmother, his fathers wife. And he was a iolly fellow, a great riche man, an Alderman of the Citie, and therfore they wincked at it, they would not medle in the matter, they had nothing to do with it, and he was one of the head men, of ſuch rule and authoritie, that they durſt not, many of them. But S. Paule hearing of the matter,

Leauen is diuerſly taken.

matter, writ vnto them, and in Gods behalfe charged them, to do away such abhomination from among them. S. Paul would not leaue them, til he had excommunicated the wicked doer of such abhomination. If we should now excommunicate all such wicked doers, there would be much a do in England. Ye that are Magistrates, shew fauoure for affection to such, & will not suffer they may be rooted out or put to shame. Oh, he is such a mās seruant, we may not do him any shame. Oh, he is a gentleman. &c. And so the thing is not now any thing loked vnto. Lechery is vsed thorow out England, and such lechery as is vsed in none other place of the world. And yet it is made a matter of sport, a matter of nothing, a laughing matter, & a trifle not to be passed on, nor to be reformed.

Paul excommunicateth.

But beware ye that are Magistrates, they sinne dothe leauen you all. Therefore for Gods loue beware of this leauen. Well, I trust it will be one day amended. I loke not to liue long, & yet I trust (as old as I am) to liue so long as to se Lechery punished. I would wyth that Moyses law were restored for punyshment of Lechery, & that the offenders therein might be punished according to the prescription of Moises law. And here I will make a sute to your highnesse to restore vnto the Church the discipline of Christ. In excommunicating such as be notable offēders, nor neuer deuise any other way. For no man is able to deuise a better way then God hath done, which is excommunitation to put them from the congregation till they be confounded. Therfore restore Christes discipline for excommunication. And that shall be a mean both to pacify Gods wrath & indignation against vs, and also that lesse abomination shall be vsed, then in times past hath bene, & is at this day. I speake this of a conscience, & I mean and moue it of a good will to your grace and your Realme.

God can make best lawes.

Bring into the Church of Englād open discipline of excōmunication, that open sinners may be strickē withall. Sometime Leauen is taken for corrupt Doctrine, and so it is here taken in this place whē he saith: beware of the leauen of the Pharisies. For Christ intēded to make his disciples teachers of all ỹ world: & therfore to beware of corrupt doctrine. And that ỹ he sayd to them, he sayth also to vs. Receiue no corrupt doctrine, no mingle mangle: Yet there be Leaueners stil and

Discipline to be brought in to the church.

Mingle mangle rs, and leauenerꝫ.

mingle mãglers, that haue ſowꝛed Chꝛiſtes doctrine, with ẏ leauen of ẏ Phariſies. Yea, & where there is any pẽce of Leauen, they wil maintayne that one pẽce, moꝛe then al the doctrine of Chꝛiſt, & about that purpoſe they occupy & beſtow all theyꝛ wits. This was ẏ firſt ſẽd. The ij. ſẽd was *Nihil occultũ, quod non reuelabitur*. Ther is nothing pꝛiuy oꝛ hidden that ſhall not reueled & opened: It pertaineth all to one purpoſe, foꝛ there he taught his diſciples to beware of the leauẽ, which was hypocriſy, declaring vnto them ẏ hypocriſy would not be alwayes hyddẽ, but ſuch as were not ſincere ſhold be knowẽ at ẏ laſt day, & al that was taught ſhould at length be knowen

Gods pꝛouerb.

It hath alſo an other meaning, foꝛ it is gods pꝛouerb. There is nothing ſo pꝛiuy but it ſhall be opened, at leaſt wyſe in the great day of reconyng. In the dꝛeadfull day of generall actõpt, in the day of reuelation. Then ſhall it be openly knowẽ what ſoeuer is done: be it neuer ſo pꝛiuely done.

Fetchers of far compaſſes.

Theſe felowes that haue their fetches, & their far compaſſes to bꝛing thinges to their purpoſes, woꝛke they neuer ſo pꝛiuely, neuer ſo couertly, yet at ẏ laſt day, their doings ſhall be openly reuealed, *Vſque ad ſatietatem viſionis* (ſayth the Pꝛophet Eſay) that is, till all the woꝛld ſhall ſæ it, to their ſhame and confuſion that are the doers of it. As the Pꝛophet Jeremy ſayth: *Sicut confunditur fur qui deprehenditur. &c.* Euen as a theſe that is taken with the maner when he ſtealeth: So ſhall ſinners be openly confounded, and their euill doynges opened. Yea and though it be not knowen in this woꝛld, yet it ſhal be knowen at the laſt day to their damnation. In dæde God hath verified hys Pꝛouerbe from tyme to tyme. Nothyng is ſo pꝛiuy the which ſhall not be reuealed.

Caynes fault could not be hid.

When Cayne had kylled hys bꝛother Abel: he thought he had conueied the matter ſo pꝛiuely & ſo cloſely, that it ſhoulde neuer haue ben knowẽ noꝛ haue come to light, but firſt God knew it well inough, & called vnto him ſaying: Cayne where is thy brother Abel? but he thought he could haue begyled god to. And therfoꝛe he anſwered, I can not tel, what (quod Cain) am I ſet to keepe my brother? I cannot tel, wher he is. But at laſt he was confounded, & his murther bꝛought to light. And now all ẏ woꝛld readeth in ẏ Bible. Joſephes bꝛethꝛẽ had ſold him away: they toke his motely cote & be ſpꝛinc-

Joſephes bꝛethꝛen wꝛought ſecretly.

led

led it ouer and ouer with blood, they thought all was cocke sure, they had conueyed the matter so secretly, ý they thought all the world could neuer haue espyed it. And yet out it came to theyr great benefite. And now it is knowen to vs al as many as can read the Byble. Dauid saw a fayre woman washe her naked. Though he was strayght way rauished, he was cleane gon by & by, & would nedes haue her. He sent for her. Yea he had gentlemen of hys chamber about hym that went for her by & by to fetch her. And here I haue an other sute to your highnes. When you come to age beware what persons ye haue about you. For if ye be set on pleasure, or disposed to wantonnesse, ye shall haue ministers inough, to be furtherers and instrumentes of it. But Dauid by hys wisdome & pollicy thought so to haue cloked the matter, that it shoulde neuer haue bene knowen. He sent for her husband Urias, & shewed hym a fayre countenaunce, and loked merely on him and sent hym forth to warre that he myghte do his pleasure wyth Bersaba afterwarde, and thoughte he had wroughte wõderous prinely. He thought al the matter cocke sure. But the prophet of God (Nathan) came & layd hys fault playne before his face, & who is now that knoweth it not? Elyzeus seruaunt Giezi, a brybing brother, he come coulorably to Naaman the Syrian: he fayned a tale of his Master Elyzeus, as all brybers will do, and tolde him that his Master had nede of thys and that, and toke of Naaman certayne thinges and brybed it a way to hys owne behoofe secretly, & thought that it should neuer haue come out, but Elyzeus knew it well inough. The seruaunt had hys brybes that he sought, yet was he stricken with the lepre, and so openly shamed.

Dauids pollicy

A bribing brother.

Think on this ye that are brybers whē ye go so secretly about such things, haue thys in your myndes when ye deuise your secret fetches & conueiances, how Elizeus seruant was serued and was openly knowen. For Gods prouerbe will be true: there is nothing hidden that wil not be reuealed. He that toke the siluer basen & ewer for a brybe, thinketh that it wil neuer come out, but he may now know that I know it, & I know it not alone, there be mo beside me ý know it. Oh bryber & brybery, he was neuer a good man that will so take brybes. For I can neuer beleue ý he that is a bryber shalbe a

Gods prouerbe wilbe true.

gød Juſtice. It will neuer be merry in England till we haue the ſkinnes of ſuch. For what nēdeth bribing where mē do their thinges vprightly. But now I will play S. Paul. And tranſlate the thing on my ſelfe. I wil become the Kings offycer for a while. I haue to lay out for the King 2000. pounds, or a great ſum whatſoeuer it be, well whē I haue layd it out, & do bring in mine accōpt, I muſt gene 300. markes to haue my bils warranted. If I haue done truly & vprightly, what ſhould nede me to gene a peny to haue my bils warrāted: if I haue done my office truly, and do bring in a true accompt, wherfore ſhould one groat be geuen? yea one groat for warrāting of my bils? Smel ye nothing in this? what nedeth any bribes geuing, except the bils be falſe? No man geueth bribes for warranting of his byls, except they be falſe byls.

The abuſe of the kinges officers.

Byls to be warranted.

Well ſuch practiſe hath bene in England, but beware, it wil out one day. Beware of Gods prouerb: there is nothing hydden that ſhall not be opened. Yea euen in thys world, if ye be not the children of damnation. And here now I ſpeake to you my maſters Pinters, Augmentacioners, Receyuers, Surueyers, & Auditours: I make a petition vnto you: I beſech you al be gød to the king. Be gød to the King, he hath bene gød to you, therfore be gød to him, yea, be gød to your owne ſoules. Ye are knowen well inough what ye were, afore ye came to your offices, and what landes ye hadde then, and what ye haue purchaſed ſince, and what buyldinges ye make dayly. Well I pray you ſo build, that the kinges workmen may be payde. They make their mone that they can get no money. The poore Labourers, Gunmakers, Pouldermen, Bowmakers, Arrowmakers, Smithes, Carpenders, Souldiers, and other craftes cry out for their dutyes. They be vnpayde ſome of them 3. or 4. monethes: yea ſome of them halfe a yeare: yea and ſome of them put vp bylles thys time 12. monethes for their money, and canne not be payde yet. They crye out for their money, (and as the Prophet ſayth) *Clamor operariorū aſcendit ad aures meas.* The cry of the workmen is come vp to myne eares. Oh for Gods loue let the workemen be payde, if there money inough, or els there wil whole ſhowers of Gods vengeaunce rayne downe vpon your heades. Therefore ye Pynters, and ye Augmentatio-

A leſſon geuen to all officers.

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ners, ſerue the kyng truely. So buylde and purchaſe that the kyng may haue money to pay hys workemen. It ſemeth euill fauouredly, that ye ſhould haue inough wherewith to builde ſuperfluouſly, and the kyng lacke to pay hys poore labourers. Well, yet I doubt not but that there be ſome good officers. But I will not ſweare for all.

I haue now preached thre Lentes. The firſt tyme I preached reſtitution, reſtitution (quoth ſome) what ſhould he preach of reſtitution? let him preach of contrition (quoth they) and let reſtitution alone. We can neuer make reſtitution, (then ſay I) if thou wilt not make reſtitution, thou ſhalt go to the deuil for it. Now chuſe thē either reſtitution, or els endles damnation. But now there be two maner of reſtitutions, ſecret reſtitution, and open reſtitution whither of both it be, ſo that reſtitution be made, it is all good inough. At my firſt preachyng of reſtitution, one man toke remorſe of conſcience, and acknowledged him ſelfe to me, that he had deceiued the kyng. And willyng hee was to make reſtitution, and ſo the firſt Lent came to my handes twenty pounds to be reſtored to the kynges vſe. I was promiſed xx. pound more the ſame Lēt, but it could not be made, ſo that it came not. Well, the next Lent came three hundreth and xx. poundes more. I receiued it my ſelfe, & payd it to the kinges coūſell. So I was aſked, what he was that thus made reſtitution. But ſhould I haue named him? nay they ſhould as ſone haue this weſaunt of mine. Well, now this Lent came one hundreth and foure ſcore poundes. x. s. which I haue payd and deliuered this preſent day to the kynges counſaile. And ſo this man hath made a godly reſtitution. And ſo (quoth I to a certaine noble man that is one of the kinges coūſell) if euery mā that hath beguiled the kyng ſhould make reſtitutiō after this ſorte, it would cough the kyng xx. M. poundes I thinke (quoth I,) yea that it would (quoth ỹ other) a whole. C. M. poūds. Alac, alac, make reſtitution for Gods ſake, make reſtitution, ye will cough in hell els, that all the deuils there wil laugh at your coughing: There is no remedy but reſtitutiō open or ſecret, or els hell. This that I haue now told you of was a ſecret reſtitution.

A choyſe for diſceyuers.

Let not the deuils laugh at your coughing

Some examples hath ben of open reſtitution, & glad may he be that God was ſo frendly, vnto him to bring him vnto it

in this worlde. I am not afrayd to name him. It was maſter Sherington, an honeſt gentilman and one that God loueth. He open ye confeſſed that he had deceiued the kyng, and he made open reſtitution. Oh what an Argument may he haue agaynſt the deuill, when he ſhall mo[illegible] hym to deſperation, God brought this out to his amendement. It is a token that he is a choſen man of God, and one of his elected. If he be of God, he ſhalbe be brought to it, therfore for Gods ſake make reſtitution, or els remember Gods Prouerb. There is nothing ſo ſecret. &c. If you do either of theſe two in this worlde, then are ye of God, if not, then for lacke of reſtitutiõ, ye ſhall haue eternall damnatiõ. Ye may do it by meanes, if you dare not do it your ſelues, bryng it to an other & ſo make reſtitution. If ye be not of Gods flocke, it ſhalbe brought out to your ſhame & damnation at the laſt day, when all euil mens ſinnes ſhalbe layed open before vs. Yet there is one way, how all our ſinnes may be hidden: which is repent and amend, *Reſipiſcentia, reſipiſcentia*, repentyng and amendyng is a ſure remedy and a ſure way to hide all, that it ſhall not come out to our ſhame and confuſion. Yet there was an other ſéede that Chriſt was ſowyng in that Sermon of his, and this was the ſéede: I ſay to you my frendes feare not hym that kylleth the body: but feare hym, that after he hath killed, hath power alſo to caſt into hell fire. &c. And there to put his diſciples in cõfort and ſure hope of his helpe, and out of all doubt & miſtruſt of his aſſiſtance: he bringeth in vnto them the example of the Sparowes, how they are fed by Gods mere prouidence and goodnes, and alſo of the heares of our heades, how that not ſo much as one heare falleth from our heades without hym, feare hym, (ſayth he) that when he hath killed the body, may alſo caſt into hell fire. Matter for all kyndes of people here, but ſpecially for kynges.

An Argument of Gods election.

The way to hyde ſinne.

A ſute to the kyng.

And therfore here is an other ſute to your highnes. Feare not him that killeth the body: Feare not theſe forraine Princes and forraine powers. God ſhall make you ſtrong inough. Sticke to God, feare God, feare not thē, God hath ſent you many ſtormes in your youth. But forſake not God, & he will not forſake you. Peraduenture ye ſhall haue that ſhall moue you, & ſay vnto you: Oh ſir, oh ſuch a one is a great man, he

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is a mightie Prince, a kynge of great power, ye can not be without his frendshyp, agree with hym in Religion, or els ye shall haue hym your enemy. &c. Well, feare them not, but cleaue to God, and he shall defende you. Do not as kyng Achab dyd, that was afrayde of the Assirian kyng, & for feare least he should haue hym to his enemy, was content to forsake God, and to agree with him in Religion, and worshypping of God. And anone sent to Vrias the hygh Priest, who was ready atonce to set vp the Idolatry of the Assirian kyng. Do not your hyghnes so, feare not the best of them all, but feare GOD. The same Vrias was *Capellanus ad manum*, a Chaplaine at hand, an elbow Chaplayne. If ye will turne, ye shall haue that will turne with you, yea euen in their white rotchets. But follow not Achab: Remember the heare how it falleth not without Gods prouidence. Remember the Sparowes how they builde in euery house, and God prouided for thē. And ye art much more precious to me (sayth Christ) then Sparowes or other byrdes. God will defend you, that before your tyme commeth, ye shall not dye nor miscary.

An elbowe Chaplain.

God will defend hys.

On a tyme when Christ was goyng to Ierusalem his Disciples sayd vnto hym: They there would haue stoned thē, & wilt thou now go thether agayne? What (sayth he agayne to thē) *Nonne duodecim sunt horæ in die. &c.* Be there not twelue houres in the day? (saith he.) God hath appointed his times, as pleaseth him, and before the tyme commeth that God hath appoynted, they shall haue no power agaynst you. Therfore sticke to God and forsake hym not, but feare hym, and feare not men. And beware chiefly of two affectiōs feare and loue. Feare as Achab, of whom I haue told you that for feare of the Assirian kyng he chaunced his religion, and thereby purchased Gods hye indignation to hym and to his realme. And loue, as Dina Iacobs daughter, who caused a chaūge of religion, by Sichem & Hemor, who were contented for lust of a wife to the destruction & spoyling of all the whole City: Read the Chronicles of England and Fraunce, & ye shall see what chaunges of religion hath come by mariages, and for mariages. Mary my daughter & be baptised, and so forth, or els. &c. Feare thē not. Remēber the Sparowes. And this rule should all estates & degrees of men folow, whereas now they feare

Two affectiōs to be eschued.

Read Chronicles.

men and not God. If there be a iudgement betwene a great man & a powre mã: Then must there be a corruptiõ of iustice for feare. Oh he is a great man, I dare not displease hym. &c. Fie vpõ thée, art thou a Iudge & wilt be afrayd to geue right iudgement? feare him not be he neuer so great a man but vprightly do true iustice. Likewise some pastors go from their cure, they are afrayd of the plage, they dare not come nye any sickebody: but hyer other, & they go away them selues. Out vpon thée. The wolfe commeth vppon thy flocke to deuour them, and when they haue most nede of thée, thou runnest away frõ thẽ. The souldiour also that should go on warrefare, he will drawe backe asmuch as he can. Oh I shall be slayne. Oh such and such went, and neuer came home agayn: Such men went the last yeare into Northfolke, and were slayne there. Thus they are afrayd to go. They will labour to tary at home. If the kyng commaunde thée to go, thou art bound to go, and seruyng the kyng, thou seruest God. If thou serue God, he will not shorten thy dayes to thine hurt. Well sayth some, if they had not gone they had liued vnto this day. How knowest thou that? who made thée so pryuy of Gods counsel? folow thou thy vocation, & serue ỹ kyng when he calleth thée. In seruing him thou shalt serue God. And till the time come, thou shalt not dye. It was maruaile ỹ Jonas escaped in such a citie, what then? Yet God preserued hym, so that he could not perish. Take therfore an example of Jonas, & euery man follow his vocation not fearyng men, but fearyng God.

Hierelynges.

Man dieth not before hys tyme.

An other sede that Christ was sowyng in the Sermõ was this: *Qui confessus me fuerit hominibus, confitebor & ego illum coram patre meo.* He that confesseth me before men, I shall also confesse him before my father. We must confesse him with mouth. It was of a Bishop not long agoe asked as touching this: Lawes (sayth he) must be obeyed and ciuill ordinaunce, I will follow outwardly, but my hart in Religion is frée to thinke as I will, so sayd Frier Forest halfe a Papist, yea worse then a whole Papist. Well an other sede was: he that sinneth agaynst the holy ghost, it shall not be forgeuen hym, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. What is this same sinne agaynst ỹ holy ghost? an horrible sinne that neuer shalbe forgeuen, neither in this world, nor in the world to come:

A Bishoplyke saying.

come: What is this sinne? small impenitentie, and some say impugnyng of ỹ truth. One came to me once, that dispayred, because of sinne agaynst the holy Ghost. He was sore troubled in his conscience, that he should be damned, and that it was not possible for him to be saued, because he had sinned agaynst the holy ghost. I sayd to hym: what man (quoth I) comfort your selfe in these wordes of the Apostle: *Christus est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris*. And agayne: *Ideo me misit pater in mundum, vt qui credit in me non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternã*. My father hath for this purpose sent me into the world, that he which beleueth in me, may not perish, but may haue the lyfe euerlastyng. Also: *Quacunque hora ingemuerit peccator, saluus erit*. In what houre soeuer the sinner shall mourne for his sinne, hee shalbe saued. I had Scriptures inough for me (as me thought) but say what I could say, he could say more agaynst him selfe, then I could say at that tyme to do hym good withall. Where some say that the sinne agaynst the holy Ghost, is originall sinne: I alledged agaynst that, the saying of S. Paule. *Sicut per vnius delictum. &c.* And *si quis egerit pœnitentiam*. If a man had done all the sinnes in the world, and haue true repentaunce, with fayth and hope in Gods mercy he shall be forgeuen. But what soeuer I sayd, he could still obiect agaynst me and auoyde my reasons. I was fayne to take an other day, and did so. Let me go to my booke (quoth I) and go you to your prayers, for ye are not altogether without fayth. I got me to my study, I read many Doctours, but none could content me, no expositour could please me nor satisfie my mynde in the matter. And it is with me as it is with a Scholer of Cambridge, who beyng demaunded of his tutour how he vnderstode hys lesson, and what it ment: I know (quoth he) what it meaneth, but I can not tell it, I can not expresse it. So I vnderstode it well inough, but I can not well declare it. Neuerthelesse I will boungle at it as well as I can.

Christ agaynst dispayre.

A man in dispayre can say much agaynst hym selfe.

Now to tell you by the way what sinne it was that he had committed, he had fallen from the truth knowen, And afterward fell to mockyng & scornyng of it. And this sinne it was that he thought to be vnforgeueable. I sayd vnto hym, that it was a behemẽt maner of speakyng in Scripture, yet (quoth

I)

Why ſom: ſin is called irremiſſible.

If this is not ſpoken vniuerſally, nor it is not ment that God doth neuer forgeue it, but it is commonly called irremiſſible, vnforgeueable, becauſe that God doth ſeldome forgeue it, but yet there is no ſinne ſo great but God may forgeue it, and doth forgeue it to the repentaunt hart, though in wordes it ſound that it ſhall neuer be forgeuen: As *Priuilegium paucorum, non deſtruit regulam vniuerſalem*. The priuiledge of a few perſons doth not deſtroye an vniuerſall rule or ſaying of Scripture. For the Scripture ſayth: *Omnes moriemur*. We ſhall dye euery one of vs, yet ſome ſhall be rapt and takē a liue, as S. Paul ſayth. For this priuiledge of a few, doth not hurt a generalitie. An irremiſſible ſinne, an vnexcuſable ſinne, yet to hym that will truly repent, it is forgeueable, in Chriſt it may be remitted, if there be no more but one man forgeuen, ye may be that ſame one man that ſhall be forgeuen. *Vbi abundauit delictum, ibi abundabit & gratia*. Where iniquitie hath abounded, there ſhall grace abounde. Thus by litle and litle this man came to a ſetled conſcience agayne, and toke comfort in Chriſtes mercy. Therfore diſpayre not though it be ſaid it ſhall neuer be forgeuen. Where Cain ſayd, my wickednes is ſo great that God can not forgeue it. Nay thou lyeſt ſayth Auſten to Cain. *Maior eſt Dei miſericordia, quam iniquitas tua*. The mercy of God is greater thē thyne iniquitie. Therfore diſpayre not but this one thing I ſay: beware of this ſinne that ye fall not into it, for I haue knowen no mo but this one man this one man that hath fallen from the truth, and hath afterward repented and come to grace agayne, I haue knowen many ſence: God hath opened myne eyes to ſe a litle, I haue knowen many (I ſay) that knew more then I, and ſome whō I haue honored, that haue afterwardes fallen from the truth, but neuer one of them (this man excepte) that haue returned to grace and to the truth agayne. But yet though God doth very ſeldome forgeue this ſinne, and although it be one of the ſinnes that God doth hate moſt of all others, and ſuch as is almoſt neuer forgeuen, yet it is forgeueable. In the bloud of Chriſt, if one truely repent, & loe it is vniuerſall. As there is alſo an other Scripture, *Va terræ cuius Rex puer eſt*. Wo be to the land, to the Realme, whoſe kyng is a child, whiche ſome interpretes

No ſinne that is repented, is irremiſſible.

A rare exāple.

and

and referre to childish conditions. But it is commonly true the otherway to, when it is referred to the age and yeares of childhode. For where the kyng is with in age, they that haue gouernaunce about the kyng, haue much libertie to lyue dissoluptuously, and licentiously, and not to be in feare how they gouerne, as they would be, if the kyng were of full age, and then commonly they gouerne not well. But yet Iosias and one or two moe thoughe they were children, yet had they Realmes well gouerned and raygned prosperously, and yet the saying. *Va terræ cuius Rex puer est*, neuertheleſſe true for all that. And this I gather of this irremissible sinne agaynst the holy ghost, that the Scripture sayth, it is neuer forgeuen, because it is seldome forgeuen. For in déede I thinke that there is no sinne whiche God doth so seldome nor so hardly forgeue, as this sinne of fallyng away from the truth, after that a man once knoweth it. And in déede this toke best place with the man that I haue told you of, and best quyeted hys conscience.

A Realme may be well gouerned vnder a child.

The best persuation for a desperate person.

An other séede was this: Be not carefull (sayth Christe) what ye shall say, before Iudges and Magistrates, when ye are brought afore them for my names sake, for the holye Ghost shall put in your myndes euen at the present houre, what ye shall speake.

A comfortable saying and a godly promyse of the holye Ghost. That the aduersaryes of the truth (sayth hée) shall not be able to resiste vs, what? shall the aduersaryes of the truth be dummemay, there be no greater talkers nor boasters and facers then they be. But they shall not be able to resiste the truth, to destroy it.

Here some will saye what néedeth Vniuersities then, and the preseruation of Scholes: the holy Ghost will geue alwayes what to saye. Yea, but for all that we may not tempt God: we must trust in the holy Ghost, but we must not presume on the holy Ghost. Heare now should I speake of Vniuersities, and for preferryng of Scholes. But hée that preached the laste Sondaye, spake very well in it, and substantially, and lyke one that knew the estate and condition of the Vniuersities and Scholes verye well. But thus much I say vnto you Magistrates. If ye will not maynteyne

We may not tempt God.

Scholes

Scholes and Uniuersities, ye shall haue a brutalitie.

Another necessary sute.

Therfore now a sute agayne to your highnes. To order the matter that preachyng may not decay. For surely if preachyng decay, ignorannce & brutishnes will enter agayne. Nor geue the preachers liuynges to secular men. What should secular men do with the liuings of preachers? I thinke there be at this day x. thousand Students, lesse then were within these xx. yeares, and fewer preachers and that is the cause of rebellion, if there were good Byshops, there should be no rebellion. I am now almost come to my matter, sauyng one saying of Christ which was an other sérde. *Date, & dabitur vobis.* Geue and it shalbe geuen vnto you. &c. But who beleueth this? if men beleued this promise they would geue more thē they do, and at least wise they would not sticke to geue a litle, but now a dayes mens study is set rather to take giftes, and to get of other mens good, then to geue any of their own, so all other the promises are mistrusted and vnbeleued. For if the riche men dyd belene this promise of God, they would willyngly and readyly geue a little to haue the ouerplus. So where Christe sayth of iniuries or offences and trespasses. *Mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam. &c.* Leaue the aduengyng of wronges alone vnto me, and I shall pay them home. &c. If the rebels had beleued this promise, they would not haue done as they dyd. So all the promises of GOD are mistrusted. Noe also after the flood feared at euery rayne, least the world should be drowned and destroyed agayne, till GOD gaue the rainebow. And what exercise shall we haue by the rainebow? we may learne by the rainebow that God will be true of his promises, and will fulfill his promises. For God sent the rainebow and foure thousand yeares it is, and more sence this promise was made, and yet GOD hath bene true of his promise vnto this day. So that now when we sée the rainebow we may learne that God is true of hys promise. And as God was true in this promise, so is he and will be, in all the rest, but the couetous man doth not beleue that God is true of his promise, for if hee dyd, hee would not sticke to geue of his goodes to the poore.

Gods promise is not beleued.

The rainebow may teach vs.

But as touching that I spake afore, when we sée the rainebow, and sée in the rainebow that that is like water, and of a wa-

a watry, colour and as we may and ought not only to take thereof holde and comfort of Goddes promise, that he will no more destroy the worlde with water for sinne, but also we may take an ensample to feare God, who in suche wyse hateth sinne. Likewyse when in the rainbow we see that that is of firy colour, and like vnto fire, we may gather an example of the ende of the worlde, that except we amende, the worlde shall at last be consumed with fire for sinne, and to feare the iudgement of God, after which they that are damned, shal be burned in hell fire. These were the sedes that Christ was sowing, when thys couetous man came vnto hym. And now I am come to my matter.

What the rainbow teacheth.

While Christ was this preaching, this couetous fellowe would not tary till all the sermon was done, but interrupted the sermon, euen sodenly chopping in. Master (quod he) speake to my brother, that he maye deuide the inheritaunce with me. He would not abyde till the ende of the Sermon. But his mynde was on his halfepeny, and he would nedes haue hys matter dispatched out of hande, Master (quod he) let my brother deuide with me. Yet this was a good fellow he coulde be contented with parte, he desired not to haue all together alone to himselfe, but coulde be content with a diuision, and to haue hys parte of the inheritaunce, and what was the enheritaunce? *Ager*, So that it was but one pece of ground, or one farme. This couetous man could be content with the halfe of one farme, where oure men now a dayes cannot be satisfyed with manye farmes at once: one manne must now haue as many farmes as will serue manye men, or els he will not be contented nor satisfyed. They will ierne nowe a dayes one with an other, excepte they haue all. Of sayth the wyse man: There be three things wherin my soule delyteth: *Concordia fratrum, amor proximorum, et vir ac mulier bene sibi consentientes.* The vnitie of brethren, & loue of neighbours, & a man and wife agreing wel together. So that the concord of brethren, and agreing of brethren is a gay thing. What sayeth Salomon of this matter? *Frater qui adiuuatur a fratre quasi ciuitas firma, et turris fortis.* The brother that is holpen of hys brother, is a sure and well fenced citie, and a strong Tower, he is so strong. Of it is a great matter when

Our couetous men loue no diuisions.

brethren

brethren loue and holde well together. But if the one go about to pull downe the other, then are they weake bothe of them, and when one pulleth downe hys fellow, they muſte nedes downe both of them, there is no ſtaye to holde them vp. Marke in the Chronicles of Englande. Two brethren haue raygned ioyntly together, the one on thys ſide Humber, and the other beyond Humber in Scotland and all that way. And what hath come of it? So long as they haue agreed well together, ſo longe they haue proſpered. And when they haue ierred they haue bothe gone to wracke. Brethren that haue ſo raygned hers in Englande haue quarelled one with an other, and the yonger had bene contented with hys portion (as in dede the yonger brother commonly ierreth firſt) but by the contention bothe hathe fared the worſe. So when there is any contention betwene brother and brother for land, commonly they are both vndon by it. And that crafty marchant (what euer he be) that will ſet brother agaynſt brother, meaneth to deſtroy them bothe, but of theſe y. brethren whether thys man here were the elder or the yonger I cannot ſay, ſcripture telleth me not whether of theſe y. was ỹ yonger. But a lykelihode this was yonger, for once it was a playn law that *primo genitus*, that is to ſay the elder brother had *duplicia*, & therfore of likelyhod it ſhoulde be the yongeſt brother that found him ſelfe agreued, and was not content: but Chriſt ſayde vnto hym, thou man who hath made me a iudge or a deuyder betwene you? Chriſt anſwered hym by a queſtion, and marke thys queſtion of Chriſt, thou man. *Quis me conſtituit iudicem aut diuiſorem ſuper vos.* It is no ſmall matter (ſayth Auſten) of what intention one aſketh a queſtion, as Chriſte in an other place of the Goſpell, aſketh who was neighbour to the pilgrime that was wounded. Ther was (ſayth Chriſt) a man that went from Jeruſalem to Hierico, and fell amonge theues, and they wounded hym, and lefte hym for dead. And a prieſt came by, that was his owne contreyman and let hym lye, a Leuit came by and woulde ſhew no compaſſion vpon hym: at laſt a Samaritane came by, and ſet him on his horſe, and conueyed hym to a citie, and prouided ſurgery for hym. &c. Now who was neyghbour to thys wounded man (ſayth Chriſt?) *Qui fecit illi miſericordiã* (quod

Two brethren haue reigned in England.

The intẽt of a queſtion aſked.

the

the Lawyer.) He that shewed mercy vnto hym. He that dyd the office of a neyghbour, he was neyghbour. As ye may perceyue by a more familyer example of the bishop of Exceter at Sutton in Staffordshire. Who is Bishop of Exceter? forsoth master Couerdale. What? do not all mē know who is bishop of Exceter? what he hath ben bishop many yeares. Well, say I: master Couerdale is bishop of Exceter, master Couerdale putteth in execution the bishops office, & he that doth the office of the bishop, he is the bishop in dēde. Therefore saye I master Couerdale is bishop of Exceter. But to the purpose of Christes question, who made me a iudge betwene you? here an Anabaptist will say: Ah Christ refused the office of a iudge, ergo there ought to bē no iudges nor magistrates among Christian men. If it had bene a thing lawfull, Christ would not haue refused to do ỳ office of a iudge, & to haue determined ỳ variaunce betwene these ỳ. brethren. But Christ did thereby signify, that he was not sent for that office. But if thou wilte haue a tryall and a sentence of that matter according to the lawes, thou must go to the temporall iudge that is deputed therefore, but Christes meaning was, that he was come for an other purpose, he had an other office deputed vnto hym, then to be a iudge in temporall matters, *Ego veni vocare peccatores ad pœnitentiam*, I am com (sayth he) to call sinners to repentance. He was come to preache the Gospell, the remission of sinne, and the kingdome of God and ment not thereby to disalow the office of temporall magistrates. Nay, if Christ had ment that there shoulde be no magistrates, he woulde haue byd hym take all, but Christe mente nothing so. But the matter is, that thys couetous man, thys brother toke hys marke amisse, for he came to a wrong man to sēke redres of his matter, nor Christ did not forbyd hym to sēke hys remedye at the magistrates hande, but Christe refused to take vppon hym the office that was not hys calling.

Anabaptistes are a wicked sect.

For Christe had an other vocation then to be a iudge betwene such as contended about matters of land. If our rebels had had this in their mindes, they would not haue bene their owne iudges, but they would haue sought the redres of their griefs at the handes of the king and hys magistrates

vnder

The lacke of preaching is the cause of ignorance.

vnder hym appoynted. But no maruell of theyr blyndnes and ignorance: for the Bysshops are out of theyr dyoces, that shoulde teache them this geare. But this man perchance had heard, & dyd thinke that Christ was Messias, whose raigne in wordes soundeth a corporall and a temporall raygne, which shoulde do iustice, and sée a redresse in all matters of worldly controuersy. Which is a necessary office in a christian Realme, and must néedes be put in execution for mynistring of iustice. And therefore I require you (as a suter rather then a preacher) loke to your office your selfe, and lay not all on your officers backes. Receiue the bils of supplication your self, I do not sée you do so now a dayes, as ye were wonte to do the last yeare.

The king of Denmarke.

For Gods sake loke vnto it, and sée to the mynistring of iustice your owne selfe, and let poore Suters haue answer There is a king in Christendome, and it is the king of Denmarke, that sitteth openly in iustice, thrise in the weéke, and hath dores kept open for the nones. I haue hard it reported of one that hath bene there, and séene the proofe of it, many a time and oft. And the last iustice that euer he saw done there was of a priestes cause, that had had his glebe lande taken from him (and now here in Englande some go about to take away all) but this priest had had his glebelande taken from hym by a great man. Well, first wente out letters for thys man, to appeare at a day: processe wente out for hym according to the order of the law, and charged by vertue of those letters, to appeare afore the king at suche a daye. The day came. The king sat in his hall ready to minister iustice: The priest was there present: The gentleman, this Lord, thys great man, was called, and commaunded to make his appearaunce according to the writ that had bene directed out for hym. And the Lorde came, and was there, but he appeared not: No quod the kynge: was he sommoned as hée shoulde be: had he any warning to be here: It was aunswered, yea, and that he was there walkinge vp and downe in the hall. and that he knew well inoughe that that was hys daye, and also that he had already bene called, but he sayde he woulde not come before the king at that time, alledginge that hée néeded not as yet to make an aunswere, because he had had

but

but one ſummoning. No (quod the king) Is he here preſent? yea forſooth ſyr (ſayd the prieſt.) The king commaunded him to be called, and to come before him. And the ende was thys: He made this Lord, this great man, to reſtore vnto the prieſt, not onely the glebe land which he had taken from the Prieſt, but alſo the rente and profite thereof, for ſo long time as he had withholden it from the Prieſt, which was viij. yeares, or thereabout (ſayth he) when ye can ſhew better euidence then the prieſt hath done, why it ought to be your land, then he ſhal reſtore it to you agayne, and the profites thereof, that he ſhall receiue in the meane time. But till that day come, I charge ye, that ye ſuffer him peaceably to enioy that is his. Thys is a noble king, and this I tell for your example, that ye may do the like. Loke vpon the matter your ſelfe. Poore men put vp billes euery day, and neuer the nere. Confirme your kingdome in iudgement, and begin doing of your office your ſelfe, euen now while you are yong, and ſitte once or twiſe in the weke in counſell among your Lordes, it ſhall cauſe thinges to haue good ſucceſſe, and that matters ſhall not be lingered forth from day to day. It is good for euery man to do his owne office, and to ſee that well executed and diſcharged.

Ozias king in Juda, he would needes do the office of the prieſt, and he woulde needes offer incenſe in the ſanctuary, which to do, was the prieſtes office. But he was ſodenly ſtricken with the lepry for his labour, and ſo continued a lepre all the dayes of his life. S. Johns diſciples would haue had their maiſter, to take vpon him that he was Chriſt. But what ſayd John? *Nemo ſibi aſſumit quicquam, niſi datum fuerit ei deſuper:* No man may take any thing vpon him ſelfe, except it be geuen vnto him from aboue. If the Deuonſhire men had well conſidered this, they had not prouoked the plagues that they haue had light vpon them. But vnpreaching prelacie hath bene the chiefeſt cauſe of al this hurly burly and commotions. But if Chriſt may chalenge any kinde of men for taking his office vpon them, he may ſay to the maſſemungers: Who gaue you commiſſion to offer vp Chriſt? who gaue you authoritie to take mine office in hand? for it is onely Chriſtes

None may medle with others office.

Maſſemungers vſurp Chriſtes office.

office to do that. It is a great matter to offer Christ, if Christ had offred his body at the last supper, then should we so do too. Who is worthy to offer up Christ? an abhominable presumption. Paule sayth: *Accepit panem, postquam gratias egisset, fregit ac dixit: Accipite, edite.* He toke bread, and after that he had geuen thankes, he brake it, and sayd: Take ye, eate ye, &c. and so sayd: *Hoc est corpus meum.* He gaue thankes, wolt then in thankesgeuing there is none oblation, and when he gaue thankes it was not his body.

When I was in examination, I was asked many questions, and it was sayd to me: What Christ did, that should we do, a bysshop gathered that vpon these wordes: *Hoc facite in mei recordationem.* Then sayd he to me: How knowe ye, that they eate it before he sayd, *Hoc est corpus meum?* I answered againe and sayd: How knowe ye that they did not eate it? &c. So I brought vnto him the place of Paul aboue sayd, and that in thankesgeuing is none oblation, and when he gaue thanks it was not his body, for he gaue thankes in the beginning of supper, before they eate any maner thing at all, as his accustomed maner was to do. I wonder therefore, that they will or dare by this texte, take vppon them to offer Christes body. They should rather say: *Quis me constituit oblatorem?* Who made me an offerer? But when Christ sayd: *Quis me constituit iudicē, aut diuisorē super vos?* Who hath made me a iudge, or a diuider of landes among you? Christ did refuse an other mans office, an office that he was not of his father deputed vnto. Christes kingdome was a spirituall kingdome, and his office was a spirituall office, and he was a spirituall iudge. And therefore when the woman taken in adultery was brought before him, he refused not to play the Judge, but sayd: *Quis te accusat?* and she sayd againe; *Nemo Domine:* no man Lord (sayd she.) Then sayd he: *Nec ego te condemno:* nor I condemne thee not. *Vade, & noli amplius peccare:* goe thy wayes, and sinne no more. Here he toke vpon him his owne office, and did his office, for his office was to preach, and to bidde sinners amende their euill liuing: and not to be a temporall Judge in temporall causes. And here is an other occasion of

Christ refused an other mans office.

a sute

a sute to your highnesse, for the punishment of lechery: for le- An other sute to the king.
chery floweth in England like a flood. But now to make an ende in temporall causes, he sayd: *Quis me constituit iudicem? &c.* Who made me a iudge of temporall causes among you, and of worldly matters. Thus came this fellow in here with interrupting of Christes sermon, and retayned the aunswere which I haue rehearsed. Thou man, thou felow (quod he) who made me a Iudge, among you? And he sayd vnto all the audience: *Videte & cauete ab auaritia:* See and beware of couetousnes. Why so? *Quia non in abundantia cuiusquam vita eius est, ex his quæ possidet:* For no mans life standeth in the aboundance of the thinges which he possesseth. We may haue things necessary, and we may haue abounndance of thinges, but the abounndance doth not make vs blessed. It is no good argument, *Quò plus quisq; habet, tantò beatius viuit:* the more riches that a man hath, the more happely & the more blissfully he liueth. For a certayne great man that had purchased much landes, a thousand marks by yeare: or I wot not what, a great portion he had. And sa on the way as he was in his iourney towards London, or from London, he fell sicke by the way. A disease toke him, that he was constrayned to lye vpon it. And so be- A terrible exing in his bed the disease grew more and more vpon him, that ample.
he was by hys frendes that were about him, very godly aduised to loke to him selfe, and to make him ready to God, for there was none other likihood but that he must dye without remedie. He cryed out: What: shall I dye (quod he) woundes, sides harte, shall I dye, and thus go from my goodes: goe, fetch the sowe physition that may saue my life, woundes and sides, shall I thus dye: There lay he still in this bed like a block with nothing, but woundes and sides shall I dye: Within a very little while, he dyed in deede, and then lay he like a blocke in deed. There was blacke gownes, torches, tapers, and ringing of belles, but what is become of him, God knoweth, and not I. But herby this ye may perceiue, that it is not the abounndance of riches that maketh a man to liue quietly, and blissfully. But the quiete life is a mediocritie. *Mediocrium opinione* (sayth he) they that are in a meane do liue best. And

A true proverb there is a proverbe which I read many yeares ago: *Dimidium plus toto*: The halfe sometimes more then the whole. The meane life is the best life, and the most quiet life of all. If a man should fill himselfe vp to the throte, he shoulde not finde ease in it, but displeasure, and with the one halfe he might satisfie his greedie appetite. So this great riches neuer maketh a mans life quiet, but rather troublous. I remember here a saying of Salomon, and his example: *Coaceruaui mihi argentum et aurum*. I gathered siluer and golde together (sayth he) I prouided me singers, and women which could play on instrumentes to make men mirth and pastime, I gatte me Psalteteries and songes of musicke. &c. And thus my hart reioyced in all that I did. But what was the end of all this? *Cum conuertissem me ad omnia*. When I considered (sayth Salomon) all the workes that my handes had wrought. &c. loe, all was but vanitie and vexation of minde, and nothing of any value vnder the sunne. Therefore leaue couetousnes, for beleue me, if I had an enemie: the first thing that I would wish to him should be, that he might haue aboundance of riches: for so I am sure he should neuer be in quiet. But thinke ye there be not many that would be so hurt? But in this place of the gospell, Christ spake and declared this vnquietnesse, and vncertainty of great riches, by a similitude and parable of a great rich man, who had much lande, that brought forth all fruites plentifully. And he being in a pride of the matter, and muche vnquiet by reason that he had so much, sayd to him self: What shall I do, because I haue not rome enough where to bestowe my fruites that hath growne vnto me of my landes? I will thus do (sayth he) I will pull downe my barnes, and builde greater barnes, and I wil say to my soule: My soule thou hast much goodes layd vp in store for many yeares, take thine ease, eate, drincke, and be mery. But God sayd to him: *Stulte, hac nocte animam tuam repetent abs te*: Thou fole, thou fole, this night will they take thy soule from thee agayne, and then whose shall these thinges be, which thou hast prouided. Euen so it is with him (sayth Christ) that gathereth riches vnto himself, and is not rich toward God. &c. But yet the couetous

man

man can neuer be content. I walked one day with a gentleman in a parke, and the man regarded not my talke, but cast his head and eye this & that way, so that I perceiued he gaue no great eare to me, which when I saw, I helde my peace. At last, Oh (quod the gentleman) if this parke were mine, I would neuer desire more while I liued. I aunswered & sayd: Sir, and what if you had this parke too: for there was an other parke euen harde by: This gentleman laughed at the matter. And truely I thincke he was diseased with the dropsie, the more he had, the more couetous he was to haue still more and more. This was a farmer that had a farme hard by it, and if he might haue had this parke to it, he would neuer haue desired more. This was a farmer not altogether so couetous a man, as there be now a dayes, as for one gentleman to rake vp al the farmes in the cõtry together into his hands all at once. And heare one sute more to your highnes. There lacketh one thing in this realme, that it hath nede of, for Gods sake make some promoters. There lacke promoters, such as were in king Henry the seuenthes dayes your graund father. There lacke men to promote the kings officers when they do amisse, and to promote all offenders. I thinke there is great nede of such men of godly discretion, wisdome, and conscience, to promote transgressors, as rentraysers, oppressors of the powre, extortioners, bribers, vsurers. I heare there be vsurers in England, that will take xl. in the hundred: But I heare of no promoters to put them vp. We read not, this couetous farmer or landed man of the gospell, bought corne in the markets, to lay it vp in store, and then sell it againe. But and if it please your highnesse. I heare say that in Englande, we haue Landlordes (nay steplordes I might say) are become grasiers, and burgesses are become regraters, and some farmers will regrate and buy vp all the corne that commeth to the markets, and lay it vp in store, and sell it againe at an higher price, when they see their time. I heard a marchaunt man say that he had trauayled all the dayes of his life, in the trade of marchandise, and had gotten iij. or iiij. thousande pounds by buying and selling, but in case he might be licen-

A dropsie in gentlemen.

Lacke of promoters.

Regraters.

ced or suffered so to to do, he would gette a thousand pounde a yeare, by onely buying and selling of graine here within this realme. Yea and (as I heare say) Fishermen are now a daies become Colliers. They be both ingrossers and makers of coles. I would wishe that he might eate nothing but coles for a while, till he had amended it. There can not a poore body buy a sacke of coles, but it must come through their hands. But this rich man that the gospell speaketh of, was a couetous man. God had geuen him plenty, but that made him not a good mã. It is an other thing that maketh a good man: God sayth: *Si non audieris vocem meam.* If thou obey not my voyce, &c. And therefore worldly riches do not declare the fauour or displeasure of God. The scripture sayth: *Nemo scit an sit amore dignus, an odio.* God hath ordayned all thinges to be good: and the deuill laboureth to turne all thinges to mans euill. God geueth men plenty of riches to exercise their fayth and charitie, to confirme them that be good, to draw thẽ that be naught, and to bring them to repentance: and the deuill worketh altogether to the contrary. And it is an olde prouerbe, the more wicked, the more fortunate. But the vnquietnes of this couetous rich man, declareth the vnquietnes of the minde, that riches bringeth with it. First they are all in care how to get riches, and then they are in more care how to keepe it still. Therfore the Apostle sayth: *Qui volunt ditescere, incidunt in tentationes varias.* They that study to gette great riches, do fall into many diuers temptations. But the roote of all euill is couetousnes. What shall I do (sayth this rich man.) He asked his owne brainesse head what he should do, he did not aske of the scripture. For if he had asked of the scripture, it would haue tolde him, it would haue sayd vnto him: *Frange esurienti panem tuum: &c.* Breake thy bread vnto the hungry. All the affection of men now a dayes is in building gay, and sumptuous houses, it is in setting vp, and pulling downe, and neuer haue they done building. But the end of all such great ritches and couetousnes is this: This night thou fole, thy soule shalbe taken from thee. It is to be vnderstande of all that rise vp from little to much, as this rich man that the gospell spake of, did. I

Fatrmen colliers.

The deuill is cõtrary to god.

Riches bring vnquietnes of minde.

Of whome this is spoken.

do not despise riches, but I wish that men should haue riches, as Abraham had, and as Ioseph had. A man to haue riches to helpe his neighbour, is a godly riches. The worldly riches is to put al his trust and confidence in his worldly riches, that he may by them liue here gallantly, pleasantly, and voluptuously. Is this godly riches? No, no, this is not godly richer. It is a common saying nowe a dayes among many: Oh, he is a rich man, he is well worth fiue hundred poundes. He is well worth v. C. poundes, that hath geuen fiue. C. poundes to the poore, otherwise it is none of his. Yea, but who shall haue this v. C. poundes? For whome hast thou gotten that fiue hundred poundes? What sayth Salomon? Ecclesiasticus v. *Est alia infirmitas pessima, quam vidi sub sole, diuitiæ conseruatæ in malum Domini sui.* An other euil (sayth he) and an other very naughtie imperfection, riches hoorded vp, & kept together to ỹ owners owne harme, for many times such riches do perishe and consume away miserably. Such a one shal somtime haue a sonne (sayth he) that shall be a very begger, and liue all in extreme penury. O godly riches, that one man shall get it, and an other come to deuoure it? Therefore, *Videte, & cauete ab auaritia*: See and beware of couetousnes. Beleeue Gods woordes, for they will not deceiue you nor lye. Heauen and earth shall perish: but, *Verbum Domini manet in æternum*: The woorde of the Loorde abideth, and endureth for euer. Oh, this leauened sayth, this vnseasoned sayth, beware of this vnseasoned faith. A certaine man asked me this question: Diddest thou euer see a man liue long that had great riches? Therefore sayth the wise man: If God send thee riches, vse them. If God send thee aboundance, vse it according to the rule of Gods woorde, and studie to be ritche in our Sauiour Iesus Christ.

Who is rich.

To whome with the Father, and the Holy ghost, be all honour, glory, & praise, for euer and euer. Amen.

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